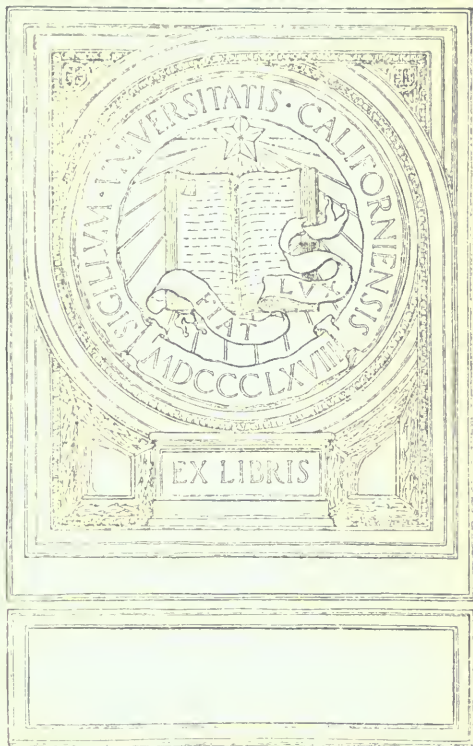


UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
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AN
INQUIRY
INTO
CERTAIN VULGAR OPINIONS
CONCERNING
THE CATHOLIC INHABITANTS
AND
THE ANTIQUITIES OF IRELAND:

In a Series of Letters addressed from that Island to a Protestant Gentleman in England.

By the Rev. J. MILNER, D. D. F. S. A. &c.

THE SECOND EDITION, REVISED AND AUGMENTED

With copious Additions, including the Account of a SECOND TOUR through Ireland by the Author, and Answers to Sir Richard Musgrave, Dr. Ryan, Dr. Elrington, &c. together with Plates.

*Finibus occiduis describitur optima tellus,
Nomine, et antiquis Scotia scripta libris:
Insula dives opum, &c.;
In qua Scotorum gentes habitare merentur;
Incluta gens hominum milite, pace, fide.
St. Donatus, Episc. Fessul. Sæcl. Nono.*

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LETTER I.

Dublin, June 27, 1807.

DEAR SIR,

“**I**S it possible,” said I to myself, as I read over the Parliamentary Debates on a late question, “that the charges against “the Catholics of Ireland, so confidently “brought by one party, and so faintly denied, “if not almost conceded, by the other, can be

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“true? Are, then, my brethren in the sister
 “island so destitute of education, morality, re-
 “ligion, and civilization; and are their clergy,
 “in particular, so scandalously illiterate, super-
 “stitious, and disloyal as they are represented to
 “be? It is no such long journey,” continued
 I, “from this my residence to the shore of the
 “Irish channel; and from thence to the capital of
 “Ireland is but the voyage of a few hours.
 “What hinders me, then, from forming my
 “own opinion upon these matters, by observing
 “and conversing with the Irish Catholics in
 “their own country?”

I must, however, Sir, observe to you, that
 previously to my holding this soliloquy, I had
 conceived a wish of viewing one of the political
 phænomena of the present times; a people, with-
 out any revolution or other visible cause, rising,
 as it were, all at once, from apparent insignificancy
 and absolute contempt, to the first rank of
 importance and respectability in the scale of
 nations. Within your memory, Sir, and mine, the
 Irish Catholics were hardly thought worthy of
 notice amongst politicians: they were almost
 non-entities in the law and constitution of the
 empire. If they were mentioned in the legisla-
 tive assemblies, it was merely for the purpose of
 adding some new weight to a system of legal
 oppression, avowedly contrived to grind them to
 atoms: when, behold, at the present day, these
 Helotes, these Gibeonites, the hewers of wood
 and drawers of water in the land of their nati-

vity, have suddenly acquired so much importance, as to justify the first statesmen of the age in unanimously and emphatically assuring us, that the fortune of the whole British empire depends upon theirs.

As I myself am no politician, I take up this alarming assertion on the credit of those great men who are well known to have often repeated it: but thus much I can pronounce from my own observations, that the fate of us English Catholics depends upon that of our brethren in Ireland. If their claims are overlooked, ours will never be thought worthy of notice. On the other hand, whatever redress of grievances or legal privileges they obtain, we shall not long remain deprived of them. Our political weight and importance, compared with theirs, is small indeed. They are the stately vessel which catches the breeze and stems the tide; we are the cock-boat which is towed in her wake.

Such, Sir, were my musings, and such my inclinations with respect to a tour to Ireland, when, a week ago, I received a letter from a respected and most valuable friend then near Dublin, in which he entreated me so earnestly, and with such powerful motives, to pay him and certain other friends in his company a visit, that I hesitated no longer about the expedition. — Already, then, after passing through places in England familiar to me, I have surveyed the romantic vale of Llangollen, and the stupendous scenery round Capel-Carrig and

Snowden. I have traversed the barren heaths of Anglesea, where, instead of the frantic Druids of ancient times, described by Tacitus, I have seen the assembled population of the island agitated by the more enthusiastic orgies of religious jumping. To be brief, I have crossed the narrow, but rough channel, the dread of which deprives you and many other Englishmen, who descant upon the Irish Catholics without knowing them, of the advantage I possess, in being able to see them and converse with them. I now have also viewed the celebrated Bay of Dublin, confessedly the most beautiful in Europe next to that of Naples, studded as it is on each shore with innumerable shining villages, villas, and martello towers; and bounded, on this side, by the majestic hill of Howth, and, on that, by the aspiring and diversified mountains of Wicklow, with the vast and gorgeous capital of Ireland in the centre of the scene:—and now, behold! having escaped from the plucking of the Pigeon-house (1), I am safely lodged upon one of the quays of the Liffey.

I know, Sir, you would not forgive me, were I to omit communicating to you the result of my observations and reflections, upon matters which have so often been the subject of our friendly debates, now that they are under my eye. I shall

(1) A custom-house office, situated at the quay where passengers from England land, and which answers no other purpose than that of extorting money from them, is not unaptly called *The Pigeon-house*.

therefore comply with your wish in such manner as my leisure will permit ; after stipulating with you for that perfect freedom of judgment and expression, without which all inquiry and discussion are nugatory and ridiculous. By the same rule, Sir, after I shall have delivered my opinion, you will be at liberty to judge of it, and to controvert it as you please.

Hunc veniam petimusque damusque vicissim.

I have the honour to remain,

Your faithful servant,

J. M.



LETTER II.

Maynooth, June 29, 1807.

DEAR SIR,

THE very morning after my arrival in Dublin, particular business conducted me to this place, which is about a dozen miles distant from that city. In my journey hither, and in my subsequent excursions, I have had opportunities of surveying the shores of the Liffy, which, if not so majestic and so rich in princely villas, as the Thames is to the west of London, is more enchantingly diversified by its meandering turns, its alternate shallows and depths, its hanging woods, and its lofty banks, now smoothly shelving to the water edge, now surmounting it in bold rocks and perpendicular precipices.

The universal population of Maynooth, and particularly the inhabitants of the Royal Catholic College, still mourn the loss of their landlord and friend, the late good Duke of Leinster. The noble palace and domain of his family border the town to the east, whilst the college and the magnificent ruins of the ancient castle of the Fitzgeralds, terminate it to the west. The new building consists of lodging-

rooms, schools, a church (1), a library, a hall, and different offices, erected in a style worthy the munificence of his Majesty and the liberality of parliament; and suitable to the accommodation of 200 ecclesiastical students, besides a provost, a bursar, professors, and servants. An extension of one of the wings is far advanced for the lodging of 200 additional students (2), for whose support, during the ensuing twelve months, the present parliament, like the former, has voted 5000*l.* in addition to the 8000*l.* granted heretofore.—Methinks, Sir, I hear you exclaim, with a, Pish! as many others have exclaimed

(1) The difference between a Church and a Chapel, in the Catholic system is, that the former has different altars in it, while the latter has only one.

(2) When the length of the preparation for taking Catholic orders and the uncertainty of the perseverance of the students are considered, it is plain that even the enlarged establishment will not furnish half priests enough to supply the vacancies annually occurring by death, sickness, inability, and other accidents, among 2125 officiating Catholic Clergy. — N. B. While this second edition has been in the press, the Chancellor of the Exchequer for Ireland, John Foster, Esq. has proposed and carried, in a Committee of the House of Commons, that the parliamentary grant, made to this establishment during the last two years, should be curtailed in the sum of 375*l.* so that, instead of 13000*l.* upon which its trustees depended, and for which they had made their arrangements, it will this year only receive the sum of 9250*l.* The reason of this reduction seems to be, that the Hon. Gentleman having moved for 9428*l.* 18*s.* in favour of the Nonconformist Ministers of Ireland thought it reasonable and politic to place the Catholic Clergy upon a lower establishment than them. It has, however, escaped his observation, that the latter have above four millions of his Majesty's subjects to serve, whilst the former have not above four hundred thousand to attend.

before you : “ What a needless waste of money,
 “ for the support of an illiterate, uncivilized set
 “ of proselyting bigots, as the Roman Catholic
 “ Clergy of Ireland are universally known to
 “ be ! ”

Let us, then, Sir, suppose that the present set of catholic clergy are really deficient in education and literature ; yet if the poverty to which they have been reduced, and the laws which, till of late, have existed against their receiving an education ; and especially if their past literary glory and services are considered ; candour, I think, will shield them from the very severe censure too generally passed upon them in this respect. For who, Sir, were the luminaries of the western world, when the sun of science had nearly set upon it ? Who were the instructors of nations during four whole centuries, but the Irish clergy ? To them you are indebted for the preservation of the Bible, the Fathers, and the classics ; that is to say, of the very means by which you yourself have acquired whatever literature you possess. In every part of this extensive island, where St. Patrick preached the gospel, he founded convents and schools of instruction, by means of which he enlightened and civilized the inhabitants at the same time that he converted them. These schools soon became so famous, that they were frequented by crowds of students from France, Flanders, and even from Germany (1), as well as from the

(1) See Flaccus Albinus, alias Alcuin, in vita St. Willibrordi.

different parts of Britain (1). Gildas, the most ancient of our British writers whose works are extant, studied for a long time at St. Patrick's seminary of Armagh (2); as did about the same time the royal youth St. Petroc. In the following century St. Agilbert, a Frenchman, the second bishop of the West Saxons (3), with the noble brothers Edelhun and Egbert, and many others, passed over to Ireland, for the same purpose of improving themselves in sacred literature. Soon after this, namely, in the seventh century, we find great numbers of our countrymen, poor as well as rich, flocking to Ireland, as to a general mart of literature, where the hospitable Scots, as the inhabitants were then called, with a generosity unknown in every other nation, not only instructed them gratis, but also fed them gratis (4). At length a residence in Ireland, like a residence now at an university, was considered as almost essential to establish a literary character (5).

(1) Bed. Hist. Eccl. l. iii. c. 27.

(2) Adarnan apud. Usser. Primord. ad. an. 498.

(3) "Agilbertus, natione Gallus, legendarum gratiâ scripturarum
"in Hiberniâ non parvo tempore commoratus." Bed. l. iii. c. 7.

(4) Multi nobilium simul et mediocrium de gente Anglorum,
"relictâ Patriâ insulâ, vel divinæ lectionis, vel continentioris vitæ
"gratiâ, illo secesserant. Quos omnes Scoti libentissime sus-
"cipientes victum quotidianum, sine pretio, libros quoque et ma-
"gisterium gratuitum præbere curabatur." Bed. l. iii. c. 27.

(5) I cannot forbear quoting here the often repeated lines which Camden has extracted from the life of St. Sulgenius, who flourished in the eighth century.

"Exemplo patrum, commotus amore legendi,

"Lit ad Hibernos sophiâ mirabile cleros."

Not content with teaching the foreigners who came to them for instruction, the Irish clergy, in the eighth and ninth centuries, spread themselves over the greater part of Europe, for the sake of converting and civilizing the Pagans in the northern parts of it, and of instructing the unlettered Christians in the other parts (1). St. Killian became the apostle of Franconia, St. Rumold of Brabant, St. Virgilius of Carinthia, St. Columban of the Swiss, St. Gallus of the Grisons ; all of them Irishmen : not to speak of St. Donatus, bishop of Fessuli (2), St. Cataldus, bishop of Tarentum, who illuminated the church of Italy, or of St. Fursey, St. Fiacre, St. Firmin, St. Rupert, &c. who illustrated the churches of France and Germany. In a word, there is hardly a diocese in the countries here mentioned, which does not record the learning and sanctity of some illustrious missionaries from Ireland who formerly served it. The most celebrated nurseries of learning in those ancient times, both in our own country and abroad, were instituted by Irish scholars. It was the learned Irish bishop St. Aidan who instituted that of Lindisferne, which

(1) " Quid Hiberniam commemorem, contempto Pelagi discrimine, pæne totam, cum grege philosophorum ad nostra Gallica littora migrantem, quorum quisque, ut peritior est, ultro sibi indicat exilium, ut Salomoni sapientissimo famuletur ad votum."

Ericus Autissiodorensis nono sæculo.

(2) This is the religious poet, from whose verses in praise of his country I have taken my motto. See them more at large in Colgan upon St. Patrick.

enlightened the northern and midland parts of England. It was the venerable monk Maidulph who opened the famous school of Malmsbury, from which sacred and profane literature, Greek as well as Latin (1), was diffused over the southern and western parts of the nation. St. Columkille founded the learned monastery of Jona, in the Western Isles; St. Columban those of Luxieu and Bobbio (2); St. Gall the celebrated one which bore his name among the Alps. In short, we are indebted to the Irish for the most renowned universities of modern times. Claudius Clemens was first professor of the university of Paris, as Joannes Scotus was of that at Ticinum, or Pavia (3). Even our boasted university of Oxford is greatly, if not chiefly indebted for its foundation to the last mentioned acute and eloquent scholar, who first opened an academy for the instruction of English children, upon the plan of the above-mentioned foreign universities, and who excited the great Alfred to

(1) "Maidulph, natione Scotus eruditione philosophus." Gul. Malms. de Pontif.

(2) "Cum per totam Galliam divinæ religionis fervor torperet, Dominus Christus, ad repellendas ignaviæ tenebras, de occiduis Hiberniæ partibus splendidissimum radium Gallicis finibus emergere præcepit, B. Columbanum egregium Scotigenam." Diplom. Caroli Magni, apud O'Flaharty Ogygia.

(3) "Cum idem Carolus regnare cæpisset et studia literarum ubique propemodum essent in oblivione, contigit duos Scotos de Hibernia in Italiam venire et in sæcularibus et in sacris literis mirabiliter eruditos, &c." Ex Notkero Monacho S. Galli nono sæculo apud O'Flaharty.

institute one equal to them in his own dominions (1).

(1) Usher Primord. The Centuriators of Magdeburg make Joannes Scotus the first professor at Oxford; but he seems to have died a little before the schools were actually opened there. Several other learned Irishmen appear to have encouraged and assisted Alfred in his glorious undertaking to restore literature in England. This prince's learned relation Ethelward informs us that, in the year 891, three learned men came over to him from Ireland, whom he received with great joy. Their names were Dufflan, Macbeathan, and Magilmunan. The last he characterises as, "artibus frondens, litterâ doctus, magister insignis Scotorum." *Chronicon Nobilis Ethelwardi*, l. iv. c. 3. We learn from the Saxon Chronicle, that the same year died Suibnech, who is termed "præcipuus doctor qui inter Scotos fuit." In the Ulster Annals he is called, "Anachorita et scriba optimus." He died at Clanmacnois.—N. B. It is agreed among the learned, and it is evident by comparison, that our ancient English or Saxon characters are borrowed from those of Ireland, and that they were carried thither, together with Christianity, by St. Patrick; which saint is recorded by Nennius and his other historians, for having written with his own hand "365 abietoria aut amplius," namely, alphabets for the instruction of the Irish. — The celebrated Richard Kirwan, Esq. L. L. D. P. R. I. A. with whom I had the honour of holding a long conversation the other day, has published a learned Essay on the Primeval Language, which he supposes to have been the Greek. I cannot, however, help thinking that the Celtic, which is the root of the Irish, and which appears to be allied with the Phœnician, Chaldaic, &c. has better pretensions to this honour.—N. B. 2°. The nautical skill and hardihood of the three learned Irishmen mentioned above, in traversing the broadest part of St. George's channel in a coracle, or wicker basket covered with hides, (which, from the account of it, could not have been more than six feet long by four feet wide) must astonish our most expert and brave seamen in these days of naval glory. "Tres (illi) Scoti venerunt ad Ælfredum Regem in una cymba, sine ullo remice, de Hibernia. Cymba in qua devecti sunt, facta est ex duobus coriis cum dimidio: sumpserunt autem secum unus hebdomadæ viaticum; atque appulerunt in Cornubia, statimque progressi sunt ad Ælfredum regem." *Chron. Sax. an. 891*: Ethelward adds the following particulars: "Abstra-

True it is, the calamity which almost extinguished the flame of literature in England, I mean the destruction of the monasteries by the Danes, was productive of the same effect in Ireland. Nevertheless, it is easy to prove that the Irish clergy did not fall into total ignorance during the dark period which succeeded this storm; likewise, that they soon recovered a considerable degree of their former literary credit; and finally, that there was amongst them an uninterrupted succession of men eminent for their learning and talents, even down to the second destruction of monasteries by the tyrant Henry VIII. Even under the cruel and almost uninterrupted persecution which they have endured till within these few years, they have contrived to acquire, not only professional, but also classical and ornamental literature. Several of them have studied the classics and sacred literature, under hedges, for want of schools; and others have spread themselves over the continent of Europe, there to acquire that knowledge which their predecessors originally diffused throughout it. The

“*hauriunt ferventes fide, anno in eodem, Hibernâ stirpe, tres
“ viri lecti. Furtim consuunt lembum, taurinis byrsis; alimentum
“ sibi hebdomadarium suppleunt; elevant, dies per septem totidem.
“ que noctes, vela; advehuntur in Cornualias partes.*” Our Saxon ancestors had long been famous for their art and courage in managing these frail vessels:

“*Quin, et Aremoricus piratam Saxona tractus*

“*Sperabat, (timebat) cui pelle salum sulcare Britannum*

“*Ludis, et assuto glaucum mare findere lembo.*”

Sidon. Apolin.

success which they have generally met with in their studies, has been equal to the ardour with which they have applied to them. Accordingly, Sir, you will find, upon inquiry, that the Irish students in the foreign universities, down to the very period of the late revolution, carried off more than a due proportion of prizes and professorships, by the sheer merit of superior talents and learning, and a much greater proportion than fell to the lot of all other foreigners put together.

I am far, Sir, from undertaking to give you a list of the Irish Catholic Clergy, since the reformation, so called, who have left incontrovertible proofs of their cultivated minds, and superior literature in their writings: neither my leisure nor my means permit me, at present, to undertake the task. I will, however, present you with the names of a few of these. Amongst the prelates of this description were the M. R. Dr. Peter Lombard, A. B. of Armagh, author of "*De Pegno Hibernie, Insula Sanctorum*," &c. ; M. R. George Dowdal, his predecessor in that dignity; the R. R. Daniel Roth, Catholic Bishop of Ossory, who published a most interesting account of catholic affairs about two centuries ago (1.) The M. R. Peter Talbot, Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, a celebrated controversial writer, who died a prisoner for his religion in that city; the R. R. Daniel O'Daly, who died Bishop of Co-

(1) *Analecta de Rebus Catholicis in Anglia.*

imbria, in Portugal; and the R. R. Thomas Burke, Bishop of Ossory, both of them learned and celebrated historians, of the order of St. Dominic; the late M. R. James Butler, Archbishop of Cashel, and victorious opponent of Dr. Woodward, Bishop of Cloyne (1). Amongst the learned writers of the second order of clergy, were the R. Richard Stanyhurst, the well known historian; Abbé M'Geoghan, —; the R. J. Colgan, —; the R. Luke Wadding, —; the R. J. Lynch, —; the Rev. Dr. Martin, Professor of Divinity at Louvain, who wrote the *Scutum Fidei*, against A. B. Tillotson's Sermons on Transubstantiation, which he refuted paragraph by paragraph; the Rev. Dr. Nary, who distinguished himself by his controversial writings against Dr. Brown, Bishop of Cork, afterwards A. B. of Tuam; the R. John O'Heyne, an historian; the R. Antony Lupi, alias Wolf, an antiquary; the R. John Hacket, a theologian; the R. Dominic Lynch, —; the R. F. Malone, the successful antagonist in controversy against Archbishop Usher; the R. Edmund Burke, controvertist; the R. James Usher, author of the Free Inquiry (2); and the R.

(1) Looking over the list of writers in Harris's Ware, chap. 13 and chap. 14, I find the greater part of them have been Catholic Bishops and other Clergymen; nor is the author backward in acknowledging their merit. Among many others of this description, are the following: Maurice de Port, A. B. of Tuam; Rd. Creagh, A. B. of Armagh; C. Doran, B. of Down; N. French, B. of Ferns; F. Conry, A. B. of Tuam; Keating, Messingham, &c.

(2) The notable and learned scholar was the immediate descendant of Archbishop Usher, who taking himself to the study of

Arthur O'Leary, the triumphant, and, at the same time, the amiable victor of John Wesley,

the controversy carried on between his ancestor and F. Malone, was so overpowered and convinced by the arguments of the latter, that he abandoned the religion in which he had been educated, and embraced that of the ancient Church. Being a widower, he took holy orders in this Church, and was the first writer who may be said to have defended it in the face of the public: his letters originally appearing in the Public Ledger, from which they were extracted, and published in a separate work now upon sale, called: *A free Examination of the common Methods employed to prevent the Growth of Popery*. Mr. Usher left a son, who is still living, and whom I had the pleasure of seeing in one of the catholic establishments in Ireland. The plan of his Letters, which made a great noise in their time, is as follows. There being a great outcry concerning the alledged increase of Popery in England, about the year 1767, Mr. Usher, in his first letter, calls upon well informed and ingenious persons to account for the fact, and to explain upon what principle *error* can prove an over-match for *truth*, *ignorance* for *learning*, *idolatry* for *pure religion*. Having, in his following letters, refuted the idle and ridiculous reasons assigned for this strange circumstance, by different writers, who attempted to answer him, he thus, in substance, explains the true cause of it. "You learned controvertists, when you
 " attack the Church of Rome, never fail to assault her in some point
 " or other in which she is impregnable. You accuse her of teach-
 " ing idolatry or impiety, or the breach of faith with heretics, or
 " the lawfulness of murdering them, or some other immorality.
 " This, to be sure, gains you a temporary applause amongst your
 " zealous partisans, and inflames their hatred against Papists. But
 " in the mean time, the Papists themselves, being conscious of the
 " falsehood of these charges, are confirmed in their religion; and
 " serious protestant seekers, discovering by degrees the same false-
 " hood, are induced to go over to the popish communion, &c." Besides this Examination, Mr. Usher also wrote *Clio upon Taste*, a work which deserves to be placed on the same shelf with Burke's *Beautiful and Sublime*. In writing the Examination, he was assisted by my lamented friend, the late worthy, upright, and pious John Walker, author of the *Pronouncing Dictionary*, *Elements of Elocution*, the *Rhetorical Grammar*, *Deism disarmed*, &c. This ingenious author may with truth be called the Guido d'Arezzo of elocution; having discovered the scale of speaking sounds, by which reading and delivery are now reduced to a system.

and of other enemies of religious toleration (1), &c. I do not mention certain living writers, of whom posterity will speak, because they are my friends, and therefore I might be suspected of partiality in the account I should give of them.

I have the honour to remain, &c.

(1) How little does this head of a great party, and chief author of the riots in 1780, appear, when opposed to the deep learning, the sound logic, and the sterling wit of an O'Leary! See Remarks on John Wesley's Letters, in O'Leary's Tracts, p. 205. Keating and Co.





LETTER III.

Maynooth, June 30, 1807.

DEAR SIR,

I Make no doubt that you will consider my letter of yesterday as a *set off*, and that, being conscious of the ignorance and stupidity of the present race of officiating clergy in Ireland, I am desirous of investing them with the past glories of their predecessors. To be sure, Sir, it will be a difficult task to disabuse you and other Englishmen of your prejudice against Irish priests, if you are determined to entertain it: nevertheless, I beg you, by way of forming a right judgment upon this matter, to consider of proper answers to the three following questions. As you must admit that the natives of Ireland have not degenerated in their bodily powers, have you any reason to suppose they have

fallen off from their ancient fame, with respect to their *mental faculties*? Secondly, it being an established rule with us, in the choice of candidates for holy orders, to consider mental talents next to piety and morality, is it not likely that the clergy in Ireland should prove to be endowed with, at least, an *ordinary share* of natural genius? Thirdly, do you conceive it *possible*, that young men thus endowed, should spend ten or twelve of the choicest years of their lives in intense application to study, without acquiring some share of knowledge and intellectual improvement? You will probably say, that to solve the last question, it is necessary you should know how these ten or twelve years have been employed; what books have been read; in short, that you want to know (as an enlightened and liberal reviewer has expressed himself), “what is the course at Maynooth (1)?” I answer, that if this be not known, it is not the fault of the superiors of the college. Their well-frequented library (2) and their class books are open to the examination, not only of the Lord Chancellor and the Judges of Ireland, who are bound by the Act of 1795, to visit the establishment every three years, but also of every civil inquirer (3). I

(1) See the Edinburgh Review in its strictures upon Carr's Stranger in Ireland.

(2) To the fact here supposed I myself am a witness.

(3) While the present sheets have been in the press the whole plan of studies, together with the laws and bye-laws of discipline, and the

will endeavour to give you a general idea of this course. An indefinite time, perhaps two or three years, is employed in the study of English, Irish (1), Latin, and French Grammar (2). After this a distinct year is appointed for the study of poetry, and another year for that of rhetoric. At the end of each year public examinations are held, at which the literati of the neighbourhood, of whatever communion they may be, are invited to assist, and also bear a part in them (3). This forms what is called the course of the Humanity Studies ; after which begin those of a higher order. One whole year is always devoted to logic and metaphysics, upon Lock's system ; and another to mathematics, physics, and

names of all the professors and students of the establishment since its first opening in 1795, have been printed in 50 folio pages, for the use of the Members of Parliament ; and it must be a matter of heart-felt joy to every individual connected with it, that no one fault or defect could be found in the whole, except that the students applied *too closely to their business, even at the times of vacation*. This disposition has been termed *monastic*.

(1) A professor of the Irish language forms one part of the establishment ; an excellent constitution for perpetuating perhaps the most ancient language in the world, the Celtic.

(2) Regularly speaking, the students are expected to have acquired the greater part of these branches of knowledge, previously to their admission at Maynooth.

(3) At the small seminary of Kilkenny, which I afterwards visited, I found a boy explaining Lucian and Homer. The established bishop, who was formerly provost of Trinity College, Dublin, frequently honours the examinations there with his presence, and was expected the morning when I attended. A friend of mine adds, that when he left the College of Kilkenny, after four years residence in it, besides Lucian and Homer, he had also read Longinus, Sophocles, Lysias, &c. to say nothing of Horace, Tacitus, &c.

astronomy, in which Newton is the chief guide. The whole of this philosophical course the student must publicly defend, not by answering a few questions well known before hand, but by solving the objections of each individual present, amongst the company indiscriminately invited to these defensions. To the study of philosophy succeeds that of divinity, including canon law and ecclesiastical history; which takes up four whole years, under three distinct professors, (at least there is this number of them at Maynooth) a professor of speculative theology, a second of morality, and a third of the holy scriptures. The divines, no less than the philosophers, are required publicly to defend their several treatises; and I may add, that they are no less willing than these are to exhibit their dictates and other class books to every civil stranger, of whatever religion, who chooses to inspect them. If all that I have here stated be matter of fact, and take notice, Sir, I challenge inquiry into the truth of it, where is the man who will dare to reproach the Irish Clergy with being uneducated and illiterate? Indeed, few of those who hold this language have received half so good an education (1).

(1) It may be alleged that I have here exhibited a picture of the education at the royal College of Maynooth, which is in the neighbourhood of the capital, and under the eye of dignified visitors, whereas the present charge applies to the officiating clergy in general, and particularly to those in the remote parts of the island. To this I answer,

I have spoken to the charge of ignorance brought against the Catholic Clergy ; I will now speak to that of bigotry and proselyting ; in doing which, I will not blink the question, but, having fairly explained it, I am content to take my share in the odium and contempt attached to the imputation.—If, then, the Catholic Clergy were not deeply persuaded that the change of religion and breach with the ancient Church, effected by Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, were undertaken upon unjustifiable grounds, and that their Church still continues to be the true Church of Christ, they would certainly be, not only the most wretched, but also the most foolish of men, to suffer what they do suffer, for adhering to it and serving it. Now, Sir, admitting them to be thus persuaded, would they not be destitute of the characteristical virtue of Christianity, were

that since I visited Maynooth I have seen other catholic seminaries, particularly those of Carlow and Kilkenny, and that the same studies are pursued, and I have reason to believe with equal success, in these, as in the first mentioned. I must add, that, having traversed a great part of Leinster and Munster, I have sought in vain amongst the parish priests and other clergy, in the towns and villages as well as in the cities, for those illiterate and uneducated men which they are all in general supposed to be. So far from being persons of this description, I have found them well informed, well behaved, gentle, modest, charitable, and pious. Some of them have occasionally been called into courts of justice, to give evidence in different causes, certain letters of others have been published on various occasions ; yet who of them has said or written any thing unbecoming a scholar, a gentleman, or a Christian Divine ?

they to refuse communicating the advantage they possess to those whom they find sincerely engaged in the search of it? For they do not disturb the public peace by field preaching, or that of private families, by intruding themselves into them uninvited. On the other hand, as it is not private emolument nor the aggrandizement of a party, but the performance of an apostolical precept(1), and the exercise of a charitable office which they have in view, in their communications with persons of other communions; so they would conceive it a baseness and a crime to hold up any worldly consideration of hope, or fear to them, or to use any other improper means for gaining proselytes. Accordingly, I maintain, without fear of confutation, that the conduct of the converts to catholicity in general, throughout Ireland, demonstrates the purity of the motives by which they have been induced to take this step; as, on the other hand, the behaviour of those who have left this communion, evidently shews they have done it for the sake of expatiating in wider fields of belief and practice, than were allowed them in their native Church.

Thus much, Sir, in vindication of the Catholic Clergy from the accusation of proselyting. Let us now see how far the persons who bring this charge, are themselves implicated in it. I have already had abundant means of learning that the

(1), "Be always ready to satisfy every one that asketh you a reason of the hope which is in you." 1 Pet. iii. 15.

Protestants of Ireland, in almost every part of it, are possessed of the most ardent zeal for proselyting the Catholics; and this, not by means of cool conviction and edifying example, but by downright bribes and terrors. Here, a protestant lady, for the sake of bringing them up Protestants, clothes, feeds, and provides for catholic children *exclusively*, whose parents will sell them to her at this price; there, a protestant landlord turns all his catholic tenants out of their farms, or exacts an oath as the condition of holding them, that they will send their children to a protestant school, which he has set up for the express purpose of proselytism. But why should I dwell upon private instances of the system of protestant proselyting, when it has been publicly professed and acted upon by the government of the country, ever since it gave up that of putting its subjects to death for adhering to their religion. In fact, Sir, unexampled as such proceedings are in past times, astonishing as they will appear in ages to come, no less than 25,000*l.* (1) continue to be annually levied (in a great measure, upon the Catholics themselves), independently of the rents of immense landed estates, for purchasing the children of indigent Catholics (in as much as no protestant child can be admitted into a charter-school, unless a sufficient number of catholic children cannot be procured) and educat-

. (1) For the present year Mr. Foster has moved for the sum of 23,108 only, in favour of the protestant charter-schools.

ing them in the protestant religion. In still greater violation of the laws of nature, these purchased victims are uniformly transported in covered waggons or carts, to the greatest distance possible from the residence of their parents (1); the children of the northern provinces being conveyed to the charter-schools of the south, and those of the south to the schools in the north, in order that the parent may never have the consolation of embracing the child, lest he or she should again make a Papist of it (2); and that the child may

(1) Many English readers, on meeting with this anecdote in the first edition of the present work, expressed their doubt of its truth, and supposed the writer had been imposed upon by some fraudulent reporter; so great was their abhorrence of this violation of the laws of nature! The fact, however, is so notorious in Ireland, that mothers are accustomed to frighten their children by threatening to *put them into the black cart*, which name they apply to these vehicles of infant transports; a thousand times more infamous than Robespierre's *Diligences de la Cayenne*. In the debate which took place in the House of Commons on the 13th of April last, perhaps in consequence of the present suggestion, the fact in question was unequivocally admitted to be true, with all its aggravating circumstances; the effect of which was that the credit of the charter-schools was not a little shaken. Previously to that debate, and indeed soon after the institution of these schools, the author of the *History of Down*, had boasted to the public of the *wisdom* of this device of the charter-schools, in interchanging the children, so as to prevent catholic parents from knowing their own offspring.

(2) It was justly observed by one of our senators, in the debate above mentioned, that the feelings of the poor wretches whose children are, by various means, extorted from them, must be as keen as those of richer parents would be in similar circumstances. I have known a mother, with a child at her breast, leaving three others behind her, set off from the south of England to a remote part of Ireland, in order to recover two more children, who had been purloined from her through the misconduct of the father; and placed in a protestant charter-school. What will appear extra-

never enjoy the advantage of a parent's love and support, for fear it should thereby lose those religious impressions which, at so great an expense, have been wrought upon it ! The Turks, indeed, take away the children of their Greek subjects, in order to recruit the ranks of their janissaries ; but they do this from a motive of policy, not of religion : the Irish government alone, of all the governments in the world, violates the law of God and nature, in extinguishing parental and filial affection, and in separating parents and children for life, from a principle of proselytism (1) ! If the theological dictates of the divines at Maynooth are inspected,

ordinary is, that by great ingenuity and industry, she succeeded in first finding out her children, and then bringing them away with her to England.—I have heard of another woman, whose child being put into a covered cart, to be transported to a different part of Ireland, she followed it at a distance, and, when it arrived at its place of destination, she had the address to get herself hired as a servant in the house in which it was lodged, and thus to have the nursing and even the instruction of it, without the suspicion of her being its mother. Such a history is more affecting than that of the *Roman Charity*.

(1) Another more dreadful mischief must arise from the practice of the charter-schools in changing the names of children (to prevent their ever coming to the knowledge of their parents and relations) and in sending them to different parts of the island to be educated and apprenticed: it must sometimes inevitably occasion brothers to marry with their sisters, and even fathers with their daughters !!! —But what matter a violation of the laws of nature, and a few casts of incest, to the humane Sir R. M. and the pious Dr. D. provided they can, by the regulations of the protestant charter-schools, induce a certain number of popish children to persevere in believing that there is no Transubstantiation, and that the Bishop of Rome is Antichrist !

it will be found that they condemn the practice of barely *baptizing* the children of Jews and Mahommedans, contrary to the will of their parents. In common decency, Sir, do not reproach us in future with bigotry and proselytism, at least till the charter-schools are suppressed.

I have the honour to remain, &c.



LETTER IV.

Maynooth, June 30, 1807.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE yet another subject to write to you upon from this place, and have preferred doing it in a separate letter, rather than swelling my former to a disproportionable size. You have heard that, besides the ecclesiastical seminary at Maynooth, there is also a lay college for catholic young gentlemen intended for the world, which is now under the direction of a worthy friend of mine. The latter establishment, however, has no other communication with the former, except that its members frequent the same church, and attend the same lectures in philosophy with the ecclesiastical students.

It has been asked, both in parliament and out of it: "What need there is of a lay catholic college, in addition to the ecclesiastical one?" and "Why, at least, those young men who are destined for the various walks of life are not sent to the public universities?" One answer to these questions is, that parents will judge for themselves in such matters, and that the college being supported at their expense, they are not obliged

to give an account to any one, of the motives for their choice. However, Sir, there is no reason why I should conceal from you what these motives are.—To speak the plain truth, then—we wish our youth in general to be educated apart, precisely for the opposite reason to that which makes you wish them to be educated at the universities. You desire them to be sent to these, *in hopes* that, by associating with other youths, whom you call more liberal, we more lax, they may become more indifferent about their religion :—we wish to keep them at a distance from such society, *for fear* of the self-same consequence. We have proof, indeed, that this consequence does not always follow, but we have also proof that it frequently does follow. In fact, the catholic religion being much more strict and rigorous, both as to belief and practice, than that of the establishment, it is of course ridiculed by the members of the latter, for its supposed superstition. Now the imputation of this blind and grovelling vice is what few young men of spirit will submit to. Hence they are under a continual temptation, when intimately and habitually mixed with protestant companions, of deserting their faith. Again, it is required of students, in the English universities at least, to frequent the established service : but our church not permitting this, nor even winking at occasional conformity, it is clearly seen that these are not proper places of education for Catholics.

I must add, that we are full as anxious about the morals as about the faith of the rising generation. Now we have been taught by those writers of the day who have the best means of gaining accurate information concerning the state of morality in the universities, to form a very unfavourable opinion of them in this respect. Certain it is, that many things which would be attended with expulsion in our catholic places of education, appear as slight faults at the public colleges ; judging of them from the conversation of very venerable members of them. Indeed I have received authentic information on this head, which I do not choose to commit to writing, but which confirms me in the opinion, that an university education is by no means fit for a strict Catholic. Certain it is, that all large assemblies of mankind, without strong religious feelings, and frequent religious exercises, and rigid discipline, are detrimental to the cause of morality, though, with these advantages, they may be highly beneficial to it. In a word, Sir, a comparison between the best regulated protestant college and any well disciplined catholic seminary, will demonstrate the very great advantages which the latter has over the former, in all the above-mentioned means of maintaining strict morality.

I have the honour, &c.



LETTER V.

Dublin, July 6, 1807.

DEAR SIR,

BEING returned to Dublin, I have had an opportunity of viewing the public buildings which adorn it, the Custom-House, the Parliament-House, the four Courts, the Exchange, the Lying-in-Hospital, the Bridges, the Quays, Trinity College, and the Castle. The chief objection I have to these buildings in general, with the exception of the Castle and Trinity College, is that their magnificence is disproportioned to the appearance of the city in other

respects, and to the circumstances of the people at whose expense they have been erected. Just in the same manner, I am of opinion that the statue of Commerce, at the top of the first mentioned of these erections, is too colossal, even for the elevated situation which it holds, and that it appears, even at that distance from the eye, to represent a Brobdignaggian female. Nothing could exceed my grief and indignation, at seeing the demolition that is going on in parts of the new and inimitably beautiful Parliament House, under the direction of the Bank of Ireland, which has now got possession of it. Methinks the Irish Parliament, before it was guilty of the act of *felo de se*, might have provided for the unimpaired preservation of its sumptuous house, as a monument of its own existence, and as some consolation to the citizens of Dublin, for their irreparable loss by the legislative union.

I have had opportunities, during the days I have spent here, of conversing and forming an acquaintance with several personages who are generally esteemed for their learning, talents, virtues, and public services. Amongst these I cannot but particularize, for their merit in all these points, the four catholic metropolitans, and the other catholic bishops, to the number of five or six, who happen to be in the city, or very near to it, at the present season. The public services of certain of these prelates are recorded in the official dispatches of Government, and in the rolls of the corporate bodies which have ho-

noured them with letters of freedom; and the merits of them all are conspicuous in those Pastoral Letters and Remonstrances which they addressed to their respective flocks during the dreadful rebellion of 1798. By these and their other exertions (seconded as they were by the general aid of the catholic priesthood) they prevented that sudden conflagration from spreading far and wide, and probably saved the lives of thousands of his Majesty's troops, and of tens of thousands of his subjects. Their talents, natural and acquired, together with their christian and social virtues, have gained them general respect and regard, not only amongst their own people, but also amongst other religious denominations. The virtues which I most admired in them, and in others of their order with whom I have occasionally conversed, are their fraternal union and cordial co-operation in the discharge of their several duties; particularly in providing, to the utmost of their power, for the instruction, and the corporal as well as spiritual benefit of their numerous flocks; and at the same time, for their perfect disinterestedness, to the eye of which their own advantages appear as nothing, when compared with those of their people. You and your friends in England suppose, that nothing more is necessary to buy over the catholic bishops and clergy of Ireland, than for parliament to vote a certain sum of money for this purpose; but I have reason to believe that they never will consent to *be bought*, so as to make a

separate interest from that of their poor flocks ; and that they would rather starve with them, than appear to league against them. Indeed, were they to act this latter part, they would lose the confidence of the people ; in which case they would become incapable of performing the very task that would be exacted from them. In a word, Sir, I am persuaded that the catholic bishops and clergy will continue to do their duty, in promoting peace, patience, and loyalty amongst their people, (as they have hitherto done) without fee or reward ; unless their proposed salaries should make part of an enlarged and liberal system for the relief of their countrymen, and particularly of the poorer class of them.

I am aware, Sir, that the very mention of catholic metropolitans and bishops in Ireland is enough to make some Protestants lose their temper, and others their reason. The most distinguished among these is a noble and learned Lord, lately highly exalted in that part of the United Kingdom ; who by his speeches in parliament (1), and his writings addressed to the public (2), has most zealously and indefatigably laboured to prepare the way for the destruction of the catholic hierarchy there. For this purpose he bedaubs it with the most hideous colours, representing it as “ an open defiance of

(1.) See Substance of a Speech of Lord Redesdale in the House of Lords, May 1805, by authority.

(2.) See Thoughts on the Catholic Question, lately published, and universally attributed to this nobleman.

“ the law (1),—a corporation with all the forms
 “ and gradations of a distinct and firm go-
 “ vernment (2),—a rivalry of the established
 “ clergy—and an attempt to seize upon their dig-
 “ nities, revenues, tithes,” &c. (3). Not con-
 tent with stimulating a protestant legislature, to
 abolish our ancient form of ecclesiastical go-
 vernment, he calls upon the catholic laity to co-
 operate in the undertaking; assuring them that
 “ this form is not essential to their religion (4),”
 —that many of the second order of the clergy
 “ wish to get rid of it (5),”—and that, this be-
 ing got rid of, they may confidently hope for the
 redress of their grievances, &c. (6)

It is plain that this learned personage has
thought a great deal upon the subject, and I
 have good reason to think that he has not con-
 fined himself to *thoughts* upon it; and yet it is
 equally plain that he is extremely ill-informed
 concerning it.—Have then the catholic clergy
 devised a form of ecclesiastical government in
 the spirit of rivalry, and in defiance of the
 established clergy? Which clergy is the more
 ancient?—Do they withhold any honour, title,
 possession, or revenue, which the law has attri-
 buted to the latter? Do they require, or even
 receive tithes from their own people? Do they
 exhort them not to pay, or rather do not they
 exhort them to pay these (ill as they can af-

(1) Speech, p. 19. (2) P. 14. (3) Pp. 16, 45. (4) P. 25.
 (5) P. 27. (6) P. 34.

ford to pay it) to the tithe-proctor? Do even our catholic bishops object to pay their own tithes, to the person whom the law has appointed to receive them?—But our “hierarchy” is a distinct and firm government, &c.” What, Sir, because the legislature has thought proper to imitate the wisdom of our hierarchy in its ecclesiastical government, must we lay it aside? Because you choose to be episcopalians, must we become presbyterians? It was the great St. Patrick who established this apostolical form of government throughout his spiritual conquest of Ireland 1400 years ago, and above 1100 before protestancy existed; and it is the glory of the Irish Catholics that it has continued, without the interruption of a day, the same and unaltered from that remote period down to the present time. Afflicted, as they have been beyond all other christian nations, the virginal purity of their first faith has never been sullied, nor has the succession of their pastors ever been lost; notwithstanding the furious ravages of the Danes, the oppressive tyranny of the Plantagenets, and the long and unrelenting, but little known persecutions of Elizabeth and the Stuarts (1). When

(1) Every writer has recorded, and every man, woman, and child is informed of the persecution exercised by Queen Mary upon the Protestants of England (for those of Ireland remaining quiet were never molested by her.) In the mean time, few persons have heard of the more severe, extensive, and lengthened persecution exercised by Elizabeth and her successors on the English Catholics; and still fewer have heard of that which the Irish Catholics had to suffer during the reigns in question. The names and history of about 200

that vain and sacrilegious female required, upon pain of death, to be acknowledged as “the

English Catholics who were put to death by Elizabeth *for the profession or exercise of their religion*, are upon record. But though it is certain that many more Irish Catholics suffered death during her reign on the same account, I have not yet been able to recover the names of more than between forty and fifty of them. Amongst these were six prelates: Patrick O’Kelly, Bishop of Mayo, Dermot O’Hurle, Archbishop of Cashel, Richard Creagh, Archbishop of Armagh, and Edmund Magauran his successor, Cornelius O’Duane, Bishop of Down, and Edmund O’Gallagher, Bishop of Derry. The two first of these suffered horrible tortures previously to their execution; the former having his legs broken with hammers, and needles thrust under his finger nails, the other being obliged to wear, for several days, jack boots containing a quantity of quick lime, oil, butter, and water. The common stretching rack was very frequently employed against the catholic prisoners, and it was not unusual to tear the nails from their fingers, or to batter the shaven crowns of the clergy with sticks and stones, till their brains appeared. The year before Elizabeth’s death a number of monks and clergy, amounting in all to 51 persons, obtained permission, in consequence of a petition to her which they got presented, to retire to the continent, and a Queen’s ship was appointed to convey them. They embarked, as they were ordered, at Scatterry; but had not sailed far, when they were all thrown into the sea and drowned. The Queen pretended to be greatly incensed at the proceeding, and commanded the captain and officers of the ship to be confined. This, however, was only an artifice of this hypocritical and remorseless princess; as the tragedy had been performed by her orders. Accordingly the officers were afterwards rewarded with lands which had belonged to the aforesaid monks, and some of their descendants were in the possession of them when my author wrote this account. See Dr. Burke’s *Hibern. Dominicana*, p. 105. He quotes F. J. O’Heyne in his *Epilog. Chronolog.* It will be easily conceived that a much greater number of Irish Catholics, chiefly clergy, were put to death for their religion under the first Stuarts and the Usurpation; when it is known that I have collected the names of forty-two priests of the Dominican order alone, besides four bishops and two nuns, who lost their lives on this account between the years 1608 and 1657.—N. B. The same reward was by public proclamation put on a priest’s head as upon a wolf’s, namely, 5l.

“ Supreme Governess of the Church of Christ
 “ throughout all her dominions (1),” the conscientious Irish prelates acted the same part with their brethren in England (2). They gave back to the state all they held from it ; their *possessions*, their *mansions*, their *honours*, their *churches*, and their *tithes*. But with respect to their *orders* and their *spiritual jurisdiction* ; as these did not descend from the civil power, so neither could they possibly be surrendered to it.

To place this matter in another point of view, I presume, that even Lord Redesdale will admit the maxim (which was universally allowed a few years ago, when Mr. Horne Tooke gave occasion to an act for excluding clergymen from the House of Commons), namely, *that once a priest or bishop, and always a priest or bishop*. He must absolutely allow the validity of our orders, or he will be forced to confess that his own clergy are not rightly ordained. In a word, the law does explicitly admit of our orders, since it allows our bishops and priests, upon merely taking the oaths, to hold the temporalities of any bishopric or benefice to which they may be named, without any further ceremony. It being then indisputable that his Lordship's ac-

(1) See the Act of Supremacy, 1 Eliz. cap. 1. The celebrated Lutheran Doctor Chemnitius complains of Elizabeth : “ quod “ fæmineo fastu Papissam et Caput Ecclesiæ Christi se fecisset.”

(2) All the English bishops were deprived of their sees, and committed to perpetual prison, for refusing the oath, except Kitchen of Landaff, whom all allow to have been a most worthless prelate, and “ the calamity of his see,” as Dr. Heylin calls him.

quaintance, Dr. Coppinger, for example, is a true bishop, both in *law* and in *fact*, and that he has been consecrated to exercise the episcopal functions for the Catholics of Cloyne;—I should be glad to know upon what principle of common sense it can be denied that he is the Catholic Bishop of Cloyne. Not long since his Lordship maintained, with equal positiveness, that the law does not acknowledge the existence of a catholic *parish priest* : but the above-mentioned bishop convinced him of his mistake, by referring to the Act of Parliament in which this character is recognized (1). To make an end, however, of this matter : it is clear that the law has admitted the profession and practice of the catholic religion, which religion is universally known to be episcopalian ; that it has recognized the existence of our clergy, who can only be proved to be such by the certificate of their bishops ; and that it has even founded an ecclesiastical seminary to prepare students for ordination at the hands of catholic bishops within the realm, and constituted these bishops, in conjunction with the crown-officers, superiors in this seminary.—Can any thing then be more inconsistent, than to represent the catholic episcopacy as standing in defiance of the law !

I say nothing of the advantages to the state from the episcopal form of government amongst its catholic subjects, in preference to every other, or of the gross misrepresentations of it in its ac-

(1) See the printed Letters of Lord R. and Dr. C.

tual condition, which occur in the speech above alluded to, as these have been already so ably exposed by two catholic prelates, the ornaments of their order (1). I shall therefore conclude with observing, that if the noble and learned Lord alluded to, should ever succeed in his favourite object, of getting a law passed for destroying the catholic prelacy in Ireland, he will not stand in need of a single file of soldiers to enforce it.—All that will be necessary for him to provide will be a sufficient store of halters or guillotines; as it is certain that all the catholic bishops are prepared to shed their blood (but not till they have imposed their hands upon successors who may perpetuate the hierarchy) rather than renounce their order and spiritual jurisdiction. I will add, that the catholic clergy, and pious laity in general, are equally well disposed to surrender their lives in the same essential cause of their religion.

I have the happiness, Sir, of being well acquainted with the venerable and amiable successor of St. Patrick's spiritual jurisdiction in the see of Armagh, and it is not irrelevant to the subject I have been treating of, to take notice of the sole worldly property which he appears to have derived from his predecessors.—It is *the head* of one of them, a saint by the tenor of his

(1) See the Appendix No. IV. and V. to the "Substance of Additional Observations intended to have been delivered in the House of Commons, &c. by Sir J. C. Hippisley, Bart, &c."

lief, and a martyr in the cause of his death (1). His name was Oliver Plunket, and he was put to death in consequence of that sanguinary conspiracy against the religion and loyalty of the Catholics, which was hatched by the crafty and sanguinary Ahitophel (2), Lord Shaftsbury, and his associates the Rev. Dr. Tongue and the Rev. Dr. Oates; the last-mentioned of whom has given his name to the infamous plot. It is needless to say, that the pious archbishop might have saved his life by renouncing his religion, and giving a colour to the plot; but, as he had lived, so he died, an innocent and pious catholic bishop, and a faithful and affectionate subject of his king and country. Not so the inveterate enemy of the catholic name, the arch-traitor Shaftsbury. He was soon after detected in the very crime which he had, with diabolical falseness and cruelty imputed to the Catholics,—a real plot to assassinate his sovereign and destroy the constitution. He escaped with his life to Holland,—but the divine justice overtook him, and he speedily died there a wretched and unlamented death, leaving Sydney and Russel, and many others, comparatively innocent, to expiate his crimes on the scaffold.

My venerable friend recollects an acquaintance

(1) Even Bishop Burnet, who, amongst all his lies, never told one in favour of a Catholic, gives Dr. Plunket an excellent character, both as a subject and a man.

(2) This is the character which he bears in Dryden's admired poem entitled Absalom and Ahitophel.

of his in his younger days, who happened to be in company with a former successor of Archbishop Plunket at his house, when an emaciated old man, with a tottering gait, and looks bespeaking horror, entered the room where they were sitting, and exclaimed : “ Am I never to have peace ? Is “ there no mercy for me ?—” —It was Duffy, a censured priest, and one of Lord Shaftsbury’s suborned witnesses against the venerable archbishop. The living prelate made no direct answer, but moving from his chair and opening a glass case, repeated in a deep tone : “ Look here, “ you unfortunate wretch :” when instantly the old man fell to the ground in a swoon. The object which he then exhibited to the perjured witness, was that head of his holy primate which he had caused to be struck off ! I learn, however, that Duffy appearing to be truly contrite, was at length admitted to the reconciliation with the Church, which he so earnestly petitioned for. The head of Archbishop Plunket is entire, and preserves those features which are well known from the pictures and prints of him, now so common.

I have the honour, &c.





LETTER VI.

Dublin, July 8, 1807.

DEAR SIR,

I have now surveyed the places most worthy of notice in the environs of this capital. I have made the tour of the Circular Road, so called because it surrounds the city, of which it exhibits, in different parts, the most interesting views, as likewise of the harbour, the bay, and the neighbouring country. I have ridden round Phœnix Park, which for hill and dale, luxuriant thicket and verdant sod, pure air and variegated prospect; in short, for every advantage, except lofty and spreading trees, is far superior to Hyde Park and St. James's Park put together. I have skirted the bottom of the Wicklow mountains, and viewed the gay villas

and plantations in the neighbourhood of Drum and the Black Rock, which latter is washed by the flowing tide, and is the favourite resort of the citizens of Dublin. Amongst other villas, I saw that of Kilmacud, the parting with which drew tears down the stern countenance of its dignified proprietor as he sat on his bench, when he found himself ordered back to England. I was told, that if he knew the fate of his favourite residence, now turned into a catholic boarding-school, it would cause him to shed tears again. — But I have already intimated, that I did not come into this island to survey its beauties, natural or artificial, but to form an acquaintance with its inhabitants. Hence, having paid some attention to the particular character of the Catholic Clergy here, I am now intent on studying that of the Catholic people in general.

It would betray great ignorance of human nature, to expect to meet with exclusive qualities, whether good or bad, in any people, or in either sex. All mankind afford proof both of the beauty of God's work and of the deformity of human passions. They have all a mixture of selfishness and compassion, of sensuality and modesty, of vanity and a love of truth. The more or the less of these different qualities in the greater number of a people or of a sex, is what constitutes its character: in judging of which, however, we are very liable to be deceived by adventitious circumstances, or preconceived prejudices.

The vulgar English are persuaded that the Irish are a stupid misconceiving people, and many degrees below themselves in every mental faculty. This prejudice, which is chiefly owing to the poverty and depression of the latter (for persons of superior fortune naturally suppose themselves possessed of superior understanding) is confirmed by the mistakes which the illiterate Irish are apt to make, as other nations make, when they express themselves in a language not their own;—by the buffoonery of the stage, and the peculiar pride, I must say so, of a people who think that all the rest of Adam's children throughout the world, are vastly inferior to themselves in every valuable endowment. It is agreed, however, amongst intelligent and liberal observers, that the Irish are both remarkable quick and remarkably clear in their conceptions; and that they acquire sciences and arts in less time than the English do. But they are probably behind our countrymen in that intense application which is necessary, in order to acquire a perfect knowledge and mastery of the science or art to be attained; and in that depth of judgment, which is perhaps our characteristic. Possibly it is to this circumstance, more than to any other, that the present difference in political situations between the inhabitants of the two islands is owing. For, next to the omnipotent decrees of Providence, it is depth of judgment which regulates the destiny of the world. Owing to the quickness and clearness of their ideas, and a corresponding

quickness of feeling, the Irish, in general, possess a more ready and animated utterance; and, of course, are naturally better formed for oratory, in any language which they well possess, than our countrymen are. You, Sir, never had the advantage which was for some time mine, of frequently hearing, in public debate as well as in private conversation, the enchanting and commanding Irish Tully, the great Edmund Burke. But what does not this country owe to his eloquence! To form a right judgment on this head, look back to that part of its history which corresponds with the early part of the French revolution. You will observe that many of the most illustrious characters of this nation were then so besotted with the congenial sounds of revolution and liberty, that, in hailing the overthrow of a foreign government, they nearly brought about the destruction of their own. They stood, blind and unconscious of danger, on the brink of a precipice, and did not see the torrents of blood which already began to flow beneath it, and which, at the command of Robespierre, soon after swelled to a deluge; when the immortal Burke, by vast and repeated exertions of those talents with which God had blessed him, and at the expense of whatever was most dear to him in this world (as I well know) succeeded in tearing the veil from the eyes of an adverse ministry and a beguiled legislature, and thereby enabled them to consult their own and the nation's safety. Here was a triumph of eloquence which no ora-

tor ever enjoyed before or since.—But if you cannot now hear the enchanting Burke, you may hear his countrymen, the prompt and copious Sheridan, the pointed and sublime Grattan. I never witnessed any speaker command so much attention in the House of Commons, or receive such universal and unbounded applause as the last mentioned did when he spoke on the catholic question two years ago: yet it is certain he has never put forth half those powers of his oratory on your side of St. George's channel, which he has repeatedly displayed on this side of it (1). Why he should restrain them is to me a subject of regret, both for the credit of his country and for the sake of his cause.

Whatever difference of opinion there may be concerning the qualities of the Irish head, I think there is none concerning those of the Irish heart. The feelings of this people are universally allowed to be quick, warm, and generous. Hence they are, of all others, the most easy to be won with kindness, the most susceptible of friendship, and the most hospitable to every kind of guest. I must add (what may appear strange when we read history) they have, from the most

(1) A selection of Mr. Grattan's most brilliant speeches may be met with in Plowden's History of Ireland, vol. iii.—Since this present edition has been put to press, the Right. Hon. Gentleman has done that justice to his transcendent talents as an orator and statesman which I before called for, in his unrivalled speech in the Imperial Parliament concerning the Catholic Petition, on the night of May 25.

distant period, entertained the greatest possible respect and affection for the English nation, notwithstanding the frequent and atrocious injuries they have received from it. So much easier is it, according to the doctrine of a great master of human nature, to forgive the injury we receive than the injury we inflict (1)! Bede is a witness beyond all exception, of the partiality of the Irish for the English in past ages (2); and any Englishman who will shew them common justice and humanity will experience that the same continues to the present day.

I have spoken of their hospitality, which indeed is extolled by all writers who treat of their character; but it is impossible to form a conception of the extent to which this is carried, without experiencing it. I will here mention one instance of it, because it is universal, and because, from circumstances, it is not susceptible of ostentation. I dare say, Sir, you have wondered what becomes of those crowds of women and children, belonging to soldiers who have been sent abroad, and of the other poor whom you see constantly returning from different parts of England, to their native country, Ireland;

(1) "*Proprium est humani generis odisse quem læseris.*" Tacit.

(2) "A. D. 684, Egfridus Nordhumbroꝝ Rex, misso in Hiberniam, cum exercitu, duce Berto, vastavit miserè GENTEM INNOXIAM ET NATIONI ANGLORUM SEMPER AMICIS-SIMAM." Bed. Hist. l. iv. c. 26. Alcuin de Pontif. Ecc. Eborac.

especially as you know there are no poor rates in that island, nor any other legal provision for the support of the indigent. The fact is, the charity and hospitality of the people supersede the necessity of poor laws. Every cottage is open to each poor person who chooses to enter into it. There the stranger fares as the family fare; is kindly sheltered from the weather, and reposes upon as good a couch as they themselves do.

You will perhaps accuse me of drawing a flattering portrait of the poor calumniated Irish: hear, then, what other late writers of acknowledged talents and character, and to whom you will not attribute the same motives of partiality which perhaps you ascribe to me. "Every un-
 "prejudiced traveller," says the celebrated Arthur Young, "who visits Ireland, will be as
 "much struck and pleased with the cheerfulness, as obliged by the hospitality of the inhabitants, and will find them a brave, polite,
 "liberal, learned, and ingenious people (1)."—
 "It is well known," says another intelligent philosophic writer, "that many Englishmen who
 "went to Ireland teeming with contempt and detestation of the people of that country, after a
 "few years association with them, have returned
 "to their own with a disposition to become, on
 "all occasions, their strenuous encomiasts (2)."

(1) Tour to Ireland, vol. ii.

(2) Essays on the Population of Ireland, and the Character of the Irish by a Member of the last Irish Parliament, Tho. Newenham, Esq. p. 41.

The same accurate observer justly celebrates
“The excessive hospitality of the Irish, their
“native good humour, their boundless charity,
“their uniform readiness to oblige and assist,
“their uncommon propensity to commiseration,
“&c. (1).” But I have run the full length of
my paper, and therefore remain, for the present,

Yours, &c.

(1) Essays, &c. p. 47.





LETTER VII.

Dublin, July 8, 1807.

DEAR SIR,

DO not fancy that I am the blind and unqualifying panegyrist of the Irish. I can see their faults as well as their good qualities. Indeed, there is no good quality or virtue which, without prudence and fortitude, will not lead us into a sort of congenial fault or vice. Thus the quickness and warmth of sentiment which I have ascribed to this people, dispose them to be more susceptible of affronts and injuries, and more violent in their resentment than others who are more cool and phlegmatic. This disposition evidently tends to produce frequent broils amongst those of the lower order, and numerous duels

amongst those of higher rank. I am told that this most absurd and inhuman practice is become less common in Ireland than it used to be : certainly it is more common in England than it was heretofore. But since in both countries it is, alas ! too frequent, and since it is considered as indispensable with respect to certain cases in that military life to which, Sir, you have now devoted yourself for the defence of your country, friendship induces me to give you my thoughts upon it, in the hope, under God, of withdrawing you from a most criminal disposition of mind, in which, I fear, you are at present habitually living. My thoughts naturally turn to this subject, whilst I hear every one around me lamenting the premature end of the amiable and peaceable Mr. Colclough, the popular candidate for Wexford, lately killed in a duel.

Supposing, then, Sir, you set no great store by your life, in as much as it is *your own*, and that, in consequence, you are ready to expose it rather than put up with an affront or injury ; yet can you forget that your king and country have a claim upon it, both as you are a citizen, capable of rendering them service, and as you are a soldier, sworn to devote your life to their cause ? By exposing yourself then to death, in order to avenge your own private wrongs, you are guilty of a much greater injury to your king and country than if you had attempted to rob the public treasury : in as much as a good citizen and

soldier is of more value to them than a large sum of money.

Moreover, you have a parent, a wife, and three young children, who have each of them the strongest claim to your love, support, and protection. What a crying injustice, what an unnatural barbarity would it not be, to reject these claims, and rather than lose a mistaken point of honour for yourself, to expose your dearest connections to a real and irreparable loss ! But it is not only the loss of certain advantages which you would expose them to, in the case supposed, but also the positive and irremediable misery which you draw down upon them, that I wish you to consider. For, O ! what heart-breaking grief must overwhelm that parent, that wife, and those children, when the news first reaches them that you have come to an untimely end ! that you have died in the actual transgression of every law human and divine ! Must not their countenances, from that day forward, be marked with sorrow and confusion ? Must not tears and horror be the portion of their future lives ?— O ! think of your mother, your wife and your children, when you are affronted by a giddy comrade, or are challenged to fight a duel. O ! think you owe more to them, than to the erring opinion of the world.

Independently, however, of these considerations, remember you are a Christian ; that is to say, a disciple of him who has made the forgiveness of injuries (great as well as little, for there

is no distinction) the characteristic of those who belong to him, and who, to confirm his doctrine by his example, died praying for the wretches who were shedding his blood. By consenting to a duel, you abjure his gospel in its most essential point; you consent to the murder of your brother, and to his murdering you; not knowing which of the two events may follow. Should you die under the guilt of self-murder, (for self-murder it is when you deliberately go out to receive the ball of your adversary) what must be your surprise and horror the moment after death, when your spirit finds itself in the regions of eternity! When it rushes into the presence of its tremendous Judge, uncalled for by him, and polluted with the foulest guilt! O! daring wretch, if God is infinitely just and true, you must be everlastingly miserable!—“And what will it avail you,” says Tertullian, “to be extolled as a man of honour where you are not, and to be tormented where you are?”—I will suppose, however, that you come off victorious in the contest; which is to say, that you have murdered your fellow Christian, and sent him, in the circumstances above described, to meet *his* Judge: can you have peace in your breast after this? Will not you henceforward be for ever weighing in your mind the loss of his life, the misery of his relatives, the fate of his immortal soul, against the affront which he has unguardedly offered you? Probably you flatter yourself with the hope of avoiding the guilt and

misery here described, by keeping yourself out of the danger of being called upon to fight a duel. But remember, that as to *the guilt* in question, you are habitually living in it before the Searcher of Hearts, and that you will hereafter be judged by him according to it, while you are living *in a disposition of mind to fight a duel in any circumstances whatsoever.*

Many persons, or rather most persons, admit to a certain degree the sinfulness as well as the absurdity of duelling. They lament that such a practice should prevail; but alledge that it is better for a man of spirit to submit to it, than to pass for a coward. This is, in reality to say, that it is better to be a coward, than to pass for one (1). Thus the poor mistaken Lucretia submitted to contract the sin of adultery, when she found that otherwise her memory would be stained with the infamy of it: whilst the truly virtuous Susannah (2), in the same circumstances, preferred the infamy of the crime to the crime itself. In fact, I maintain, that the man who cannot brave the erroneous opinion of the world, as well as every other calamity in the discharge

(1) The *Chevalier sans reproche et sans peur*, as Bivard (that hero of romantic valour, who knighted his sovereign Francis I. on the field of battle) was called, nevertheless refused to accept of a challenge; and, in this instance, he shewed more greatness and firmness of mind than in all his desperate engagements with the enemies of his country. He was imitated in this respect by the illustrious Baron de Renti.

(2) *Casta Susanna placet, Lucretia, cede Susannæ.*

Tu post, illa mori maluit ante s. elus.

See Dan. c. xiii. in the Vulgate Edit.

of his duty, is *thus far a coward*; and, indeed, his own heart tells him that he is so. The true hero is disposed to part with his reputation, as well as his life, rather than perpetrate a base or bad action (1). It was a blind superstitious notion, repeatedly censured by the Catholic Church, and belied by the issue of the greatest part of duels, namely, that "God is obliged to interpose for the protection of the injured party (2)," which first gave rise to this barbarous practice. The heroes of Greece and Rome, and the renowned chieftains of Christendom, in early times, could settle such disputes without murdering one another; and they did not think that even a blow is that atrocious injury, which nothing but blood can expiate (3).

But it is the legislature alone which can put an effectual stop to this destructive malady.—O! for an intelligent and active member of either House of Parliament, who is ambitious of glory by saving the lives of his fellow citizens, or who is touched with compassion for the still re-

- (1) "Justum et tenacem propositi virum
 "Non CIVIUM ARDOR PRAVA JUBENTIUM
 "Non vultus instantis tyranni
 "Mente quatit solida." Horat. l. iii.

2) This superstition, with the practice itself of duelling, took its rise among the Pagan barbarians of Scandinavia, as Mallet shews in his "Northern Antiquities."

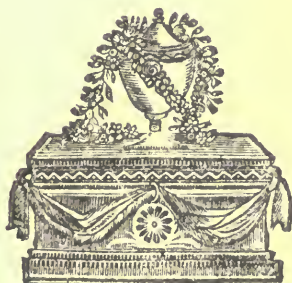
(3) When the great Athenian general, Themistocles, was struck at the council board by Eurybiades, a brother officer, he coolly answered. *παταξόν μεν, ακούσων δε.*

curing distress of parents, wives, and children ; or who is inflamed with true zeal to prevent the accumulation of moral guilt ! Such a one would certainly accomplish the great and desirable work, though Mr. Wilberforce once abandoned it in despair (1). But have we not laws already, it will be said, and those sufficiently severe against the practice of duelling ? Would you add any thing to the rigour of capital punishment, which is already in force against it ?—I answer, the laws in this case are severe enough, and too severe, which is the very cause why they are ineffectual. Whilst the laws make no distinction between a successful duellist and a common murderer (the prejudice of the people, which attaches a kind of honour to duelling, remaining such as it is), they never will answer any other purpose, than to involve unfortunate juries in the guilt of perjury, and to cause the blood of the wretched victims of fashion to flow on from one generation to another. To lay a proper restraint upon duellists, let them be attacked in their honour and property : let all funeral honours whatsoever, and even the claim of being interred in a common burying-ground, be interdicted, with respect to the body of the person who falls in a duel ; and let the surviving duellist be declared incapable of serving his country in the lowest rank whatever. Let one half also of his property or income, as

(1) Mr. Wilberforce gave notice of a new bill against duelling, which he intended to introduce into parliament in consequence of the duel between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Tierney.

rated by a jury, be forfeited, or at least sequestered for his life. With these legal precautions, I venture to affirm it, we should not hear of a duel within these dominions in the course of five years. Such laws would be acted upon by a jury, should the occasion require it, and would be productive of the intended effect. For do not we find that the mere binding over of parties under a pecuniary penalty prevents duels? In a word, humiliation and degradation are the proper remedies for a vice which originates in pride and vain glory.

I am, &c.



LETTER VIII.

Tullogh, July 10, 1807.

DEAR SIR,

HOWEVER agreeable my residence in and about the capital had been to me for some days past, yet I grew impatient to see and become acquainted with the interior parts of the island. I accordingly set off from Dublin yesterday morning, and after viewing some ruined churches, castles, round towers, &c. on the road, I stopped to breakfast at Naas, in the county of Kildare, about 15 Irish miles in a south-west direction from the metropolis. It was there I first observed those wide-extended ruins of houses and cabins, which disfigure so many other towns and villages as well as Naas, owing to the blind fury of the yeomen and king's officers during the rebellion of 1798, who destroyed every habitation in which they found arms, or suspected that arms might be concealed, or whose masters were absent from home (1).

(1) It was a common practice amongst the peasants, whilst the torturing system prevailed, to sleep under hedges and in the open fields, for fear of being surprised in their cabins and whipped or strangled, under pretext of their having concealed arms.

A barbarous and fatal policy, by which a great many repentant rebels were forced to support the cause in which they had hastily engaged; and many other men, who had previously been innocent, were driven to join the rebellion, as their only resource in the circumstances to which they were then reduced! Most of the chapels in that neighbourhood, and throughout the county of Wexford, to the amount of near fifty, were wantonly demolished by the military on the same occasion. These have since been rebuilt at the expense of government; but the ruins of the dwelling-houses, which frequently extend from one end of a long street to another, and cover whole quarters of a town (1), still remain to attest the misconduct of both parties during the rebellion.—In traversing the plains of Kildare, and viewing the huge perpendicular stones which every where seem to grow out of them, I comprehended the reason why our ancient chroniclers assign this part of Ireland as the place from which the British enchanter Merlin transported the *Choir of Giants*, as Stonehenge was anciently called (2), to the neighbourhood of Amesbury.

(1) An English Gentleman of the highest honour, who was in Ireland during the rebellion, mentions his having heard officers boast that they had “burnt down whole villages at a time, as the shortest way of destroying whatever arms *might* be concealed in any part of them.” See a Letter to the Archbishops and Bishops of England, by Philip Howard, Esq.

(2) See Silvester Giraldus, *Topogr. Hib.* l. xi. c. 18. *Mat. West.* ad An. 497, &c.

I arrived at the town from which this letter is dated yesterday in the afternoon, upon a visit to a respectable friend, who is much known and as generally beloved throughout this country. During my short stay here, as well as during the past fortnight in other places, I have remarked and admired the sense of piety, and the zeal for religion, which always has been the most distinguishing character of the Irish (1). This, I know, you and other Englishmen call *superstition*. But what is superstition?

“Ask: Where’s the North? At York ’tis on the
“Tweed;

“In Scotland at the Orcades; and there,

“At Greenland, Zembla, or the Lord knows where (2).”

You Church Protestants reproach us with *superstition*, because we often sign ourselves with the sign of the cross, though (not half so often as the first Christians did (3), and because we bless

(1) Floddard, a French writer in the tenth century, says of Ireland: “Omnibus vicinis gentibus fide præpollet.” Vita St. Helleni. Florence of Worcester writes: “Hibernia, Insula Sanctorum, sanctis et mirabilibus per plurimis sublimiter plena habetur.” Chron. A. D. 684. Joceline, an English Cistercian monk of the 12th century, says: “Hibernia speciali nomine INSULA SANCTORUM ubique terrarum jure nominaretur.” In Vita S. Patric. Jonas, Marianus Scotus, Baronius, Bozius, Pope Benedict XIV. and other writers of the first authority, testify to the same effect with respect to later ages.

2. Lamy on Man, Book iii.

3) Tertullian, who lived in the second century, describes the Christians as signing themselves with the cross on almost every occurrence of their life.

holy water. The Dissenters reproach you with *superstition*, because you sign your children with this sign in baptism, and because you bless earth, buildings, and military ensigns (1). The Quakers reproach the Dissenters with *superstition*, in pretending to bless one particular class for the exercise of the ministry (2). The fashionable religionists of the day, the Deists, reproach all descriptions of Christians with *superstition*, in pretending to any revealed mode of blessing at all. I say this, Sir, to prevent your assuming as a fact, the question, upon which you are not yet qualified to form an adequate idea. If you will single out any particular tenet or practice of our religion which you think superstitious, I will undertake to refer you to above twenty learned priests of my acquaintance on this side of the water, any one of whom shall give you complete satisfaction upon it in convincing letters, that shall also prove the writer to have received a good education; or, if you should decline this correspondence, I am sure you will be satisfied by reading Bossuet's Exposition of the Catholic Faith, or Bishop Challoner's Catholic Christian Instructed, with his Grounds of the Old Religion.

I know, Sir, that you have a particular objection to the ceremonies of our Church, which you are accustomed to term "cumbersome, superstitious, and destructive of true devotion."—

(1) See De Laune's Plea, &c.

(2) See Day's Apology.

Without going far into the matter, remember that the Dissenters bring the very same objection against your Church ; and that our religious ceremonies are not a tenth part so numerous or cumbersome as those of the ancient people of God were, which nevertheless were minutely prescribed by the Almighty himself (1). I grant you, that ritual ceremonies and exterior observances are not, of themselves, *devotion* ; but reason and experience prove them to be highly beneficial in exciting it : just as the leaves of a tree are not the fruit, and yet they are necessary for the formation, the growth, and the preservation of the fruit.

In like manner I am aware that many of our English Catholics, who agree with me on the subject of religious ceremonies in general, are very unjust to their brethren, the Catholics of Ireland, in supposing and maintaining that, for want of proper instruction, they place too much confidence in exterior observances. These persons should reflect on the caution which the great O'Leary gives, " not to judge of the Irish by St. Giles's and Wapping, but to go and see them " in their own country (2)." In fact, the only equitable way of forming an idea of a people, is to view them in their own country and in the mass. Were any nation to be judged of from its emi-

(1) See the Books of Exodus, Leviticus, &c.

(2) The Rev. Arthur O'Leary's Address to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal.

grants, (as for example, our own from the adventurers and swindlers who formerly crowded Boulogne, Calais, and Dunkirk,) it would evidently be the height of injustice as well as folly. In opposition then to this prejudiced opinion, I can take upon myself to say, that the Irish Catholics are as well instructed as the English are, not to trust to any things, as the means or conditions of salvation, but the merits of Christ, and their observance of the commandments. It is true, indeed, speaking of them in general, and as a people, that they are stricter than most others in observing the precepts of the Church as to fasting, abstinence, prayer, and the sacraments; but this every Catholic must commend. Thus, no distance of place, no badness of the road or of the weather, prevents them from attending divine worship on the days prescribed; and if, as is frequently the case, there is not a roof to shelter them, whilst their worship is performed, they will stand the freezing blast and the pelting storm, till that duty is complied with. The chapels in the towns are crowded on working days, as well as upon Sundays and festivals, and the behaviour of the people, during the service, bespeaks their faith and devotion: certainly it was a subject of edification to me. I may add, that I seldom was present at a mass on any day, at which several persons did not communicate. Another circumstance edified me in this people, and would have edified me if I had been of a communion different from theirs; I mean a vein of morality

and religion which seasons their discourses. Instead of those horrid oaths and curses which interlard and eke out the language of our English labouring poor, wherever we hear it, in the streets or upon the roads, my ears are now habituated to the language of piety amongst the lowest orders of the people. Thus, for example; a poor blind man being relieved by me, expressed his gratitude in the following prayer: "May God grant you a holy life and a happy death." On a similar occasion a poor woman returned thanks in these terms: "May health, wealth, and heaven be given to you."

It is not, Sir, the consequence of superstition and bigotry, as witlings have pretended, but of nature and reason, that those who love and respect religion, should also love and respect its ministers. Accordingly the Irish Catholics are, and always have been, remarkable for this behaviour towards their clergy. I have observed it with pleasure, in the opulent and noble as well as in the lowly and the indigent. But then, to speak the truth, the clergy, in general, support the credit of their station, and perform their duty, which, in fact, is to render themselves worthy of such treatment. It is impossible, Sir, for you to form a judgment of the labours of a vigilant priest in Ireland, who has to attend, perhaps, five thousand parishioners, spread over a district of probably nine or ten miles in circumference, unless you were acquainted with all the several duties of our ministry: still you may

easily conceive that the whole life of such a pastor must be devoted to them. The first of these duties is to assist the sick. Every priest must be at all times ready to wait upon each sick person in his parish, however poor and abject, and however loathsome and infectious the disorder may be, under which the patient labours. He must be ready to set off in all weathers, and at all hours, of the night as well as of the day, to administer the comforts and benefits of our religion : and it is a fact that very few Catholics die without such consolation and assistance. In a word, the people who are accustomed to call their priest by the endearing name of *father*, know and feel that they have a true father in him; one who is ready to render them every service in his power, temporal as well as eternal, and to face death itself in the discharge of his spiritual duties towards them. No wonder, then, that they should experience the reverence and affection of children towards him.—It appears that Dr. Duigenan and other members of the legislature are determined upon obliging the established clergy of Ireland to reside on their benefices, and to read prayers in their empty churches, with the view of bringing over the people to their religion. Depend upon it, Sir, the catholic clergy only laugh at this proposal. They say : “ We “ should be glad if the dignitaries were to come “ amongst us, because then our poor people “ would get rid of the tithe-proctors. On the “ other hand, unless these gentlemen should take

“ more pains, and shew more disinterestedness
 “ than we do ; unless they should be willing to
 “ meet us in the smoaky and poisonous cabin,
 “ no less than in controversial debate, our con-
 “ gregations will never be the thinner for their
 “ presence.”

This good understanding and natural union between the catholic clergy and laity of Ireland, has happily been such as to baffle those attempts of a learned Lord, the old and unrelenting enemy of the catholic name, which heretofore had too much success amongst us Catholics of England. Accordingly he reproaches, in severe terms, the catholic nobility and gentry of Ireland with being less enlightened, less liberal, and less I know not what, than Catholics of the same rank in England (1). Happily the Irish are not disposed to be guided by this nobleman, in any matter whatever regarding their religion. And, thank God ! the English likewise have lately so behaved themselves, as to merit his equal censure, if, what we are told is true, that he has pronounced “ the English Catholics (all, except a
 “ few) to be as bad as the Irish (2).” You will be surprised, Sir, that I should describe a personage who is supposed to have procured for us the important advantages of the law of 1791, as

(1) See the printed “ Correspondence between Lord Redesdale
 “ and the Earl of Fingal,” and “ Thoughts on the Catholic Ques-
 “ tion” by the same nobleman.

(2) See the Report of the late Speeches in the House of Lords on
 the affairs of Ireland.

“ the old and unrelenting enemy of the catholic “ name.” To this I answer, first that the *Act of Parliament made Lord R. and not Lord R. the Act of Parliament*. The important change which had just taken place in France, where Catholics, and Catholics alone, were slaughtered in thousands by the implacable enemies of England, the increasing liberality and political wisdom of the nation, joined to its experience of the spirit of their enemies in the riots of 1780, imperiously called for the relaxation of the penal laws; and things were already in such a train for the success of the bill, previously to its being put into the hands of Mr. Mitford, that any *Yea* and *Nay man*, in either house, could have carried it with as much ease as he did. Secondly, I say, that however most Catholics, on both sides of the channel, have changed their opinion concerning this nobleman, I have never had occasion to change mine. I heard his speech in March 1791, and I heard that which he delivered in May 1805 (to say nothing of his speeches, publications, and conduct at other times), and I assure you, Sir, I relished the latter speech better than I did the former; on the principle which makes every sensible man prefer an open enemy to a false friend. His object was the same on both occasions, to divide the Catholics into two parties (1), and particularly to set the

(1) The great object of his speech in 1791, was to persuade Parliament that there was then, and ever had been, two distinct classes

laity against the clergy, for their mutual destruction. He was far, however, from having the same means of success, after he had thrown aside the visor, as when he wore it. The advice which Lord R. gives the Irish Catholics to join with him in pulling down their clergy, reminds us of the proposed treaty between the wolves and the sheep: "Nothing would be more easy," said the wolves, "than to keep peace with you good sheep, if you would but turn out of your service those ill-bred barking dogs of yours."

I am, &c.

in the catholic body, the one *Papists*, who held all those abominable doctrines generally ascribed to them, the other good subjects and good men, who had formerly been called *Remonstrants*, but then were called *Protesting Catholic Dissenters*. He accordingly proposed (in which measure he was at first supported by Mr. Pitt) that there should be two separate Acts of Parliament, adapted to the supposed different principles and merits of these two classes; thus to make a fundamental and incurable schism in the catholic body. This insidious and fatal measure, however, was resisted *in limine* by the present Chief Baron, Sir Archibald Macdonald; and infinite thanks be to God, but none to Lord R. the schism was prevented.



LETTER IX.

Kilkenny, July 12, 1807.

DEAR SIR,

LEAVING Tullow about noon, I proceeded to the county town of Carlow, pleasantly situated on the banks of the Barrow. Here I visited the spacious well built chapel, and the neat well regulated seminary adjoining to it; and was much pleased and edified with what I observed at both places. My next stage was the city of Kilkenny, so called from St. Canicius, by contraction Kenny, a holy abbot of the sixth century, whose *cell*, or oratory, originally at Achadbho, in the Queen's county, was afterwards removed hither (1). This was heretofore one of the most splendid and important places in Ireland. Its artificial beauties have decayed;

(1) A late writer, who on various occasions opposes his unfounded conjectures to the authority of all ancient records, and the judgment of all other modern authors, boldly advances that no such person as St. Canicius ever existed, but that he is "an imaginary being." See "The Antiquities of Ireland, by Edward Ledwich, DD. p. 384. 2d Edit."—This is the newest fashion of attacking the ancient faith. It may be proper here to mention, that St. Canicius, the patron of Kilkenny, and the founder of Achadbho, is recognized, not only by all historians, hagiographers, and amongst the rest by Usher and Ware, but also by his cotemporary, Adamnan, in his life of St. Columba, with whom it appears St. Canicius entertained a strict friendship. Vide Vitam S. Columb. l. i. c. 4. apud Messingham, item l. ii. c. 7. "Eadem hora S. Cahinnichus in suo versans monasterio, quod *Campulus Bovis* dicitur," &c.

the ancient monasteries and other public buildings being reduced to ruins; which ruins, however, are the finest and most interesting I have yet seen in Ireland. But the venerable cathedral and the lofty round tower adjoining it remain entire; as does also the castle of the Ormond family, which is built in the Vandalic style, that, about the time of the reformation of religion, so called, supplanted the enchanting pointed order of the preceding ages. The natural advantages, however, of Kilkenny, are of such a nature as to bid defiance to the vicious taste and perversity of modern ages: for you must certainly, Sir, have heard the vulgar but true saying respecting this city: "At Kilkenny they have earth without bog, air without fog, water without mud, and marble pavement that is good."—I have visited here the small but learned seminary of ecclesiastics, and the edifying convent of the Presentation, instituted by a pious citizen of Dublin, for the education, in continual succession, of some hundreds of poor female children.

Having, in my last letter, treated of the religion of the Irish Catholics, my subject now leads me to say something of their morality; vulgar prejudices and obloquy, running still stronger against them on this, than upon the former head. The generality of our countrymen imagine that Ireland is a country in which it is not safe either to travel or to reside, and that its catholic population consists of robbers, assassins, and other wretches, dead to every sentiment of moral ho-

nesty and humanity. This prejudice of the nursery has been aided by the misrepresentations and fabrications of news-writers, and other writers of Sir Richard Musgrave's description. These men frequently publish downright falsehoods against the Irish, as I myself have ascertained, and on all occasions they aggravate the real offences of this people, and suppress the injuries or grievances which have led to the commission of them. Thus much, Sir, you may depend upon, and the records of the courts of justice will prove; that the number of capital convictions throughout Ireland, and more especially throughout the counties in which the Catholics are most numerous, those of Kerry and Galway, have not borne, during the last year, or the last three years, the least proportion with those, throughout an equal extent of population, in any part of England.

With such characteristical dispositions as the Irish are proved to possess, it is not in the nature of things that they should be, upon the whole, an immoral people; and yet I am prepared to meet with a great number of villains, and those of the most hardened class, amongst them, for these two reasons. First, experience shews there are a great many wretches of this description in every nation under the sun; no advantage of disposition or education being at all times able to stem the tide of human passions. Secondly, the example which the Irish have seen amongst our countrymen for ages past, the treatment

which they have experienced at their hands, and the laws to which they have been subjected by them, have been directly calculated to eradicate every moral and humane feeling from their breasts, and cannot but have produced a bad effect upon a considerable number of them.

— “Pudet hæc opprobria nobis

“Et dici potuisse, et non non potuisse refelli (1).”

To mount upwards in history two centuries; “Sir John Davies relates,” says the last historical writer on the affairs of Ireland, “that in his time it was *held no crime to kill a mere Irish-man* (2).—Whenever the Irish were mentioned “in Acts of Parliament, it was to mark them out, “not merely as enemies, but as being wholly out “of the common rules of law and morality(3).—“The Irish were considered as a sort of rebel savages, excluded from the contemplation of the “laws of God and man (4).” The same intelligent and liberal writer agrees with former writers (5), in exposing and execrating the acts of alternate

(1) Ovid. *Metamorph.*

(2) *Historical Apology for the Catholics of Ireland*, by Henry Parnel, Esq. p. 53.

(3) *Ibid.* p. 54.

(4) *Ibid.* p. 98. This writer brings authority to prove, that during Lord Mountjoy’s administration, “No Irishman was pardoned, “unless he undertook to murder his nearest friend or relation,” p. 91. He is known to have pardoned two different chieftains, each on the condition that he would assassinate the other.

(5) See Dr. Curry’s invaluable *Review of the Civil Wars in Ireland*, 2 vols. 8vo.

fraud (1) and violence practised by the government of those times upon its Irish subjects, for dispossessing them of their property, which prevailed from the reign of Elizabeth, down to that last and never-to-be-forgotten act of public perfidy, the infraction of the treaty of Limerick (2). “This treaty,” say the Irish Catholics, “ratified and exemplified as it was by King William and Queen Mary under the Great Seal of England, and confirmed by Act of Parliament (3), was our BILL OF RIGHTS, on the faith of which we surrendered, not only the city of Limerick, from which we had the year before driven King William, but likewise all the southern and western counties of Ireland; the BILL OF RIGHTS, on the faith of which we renounced our allegiance to King James, till then our king *de jure* and *de facto*, and swore fidelity to King William. By the first article of this treaty, it was stipulated that, *“The Roman Catholics of this kingdom (Ireland), shall en-*

(1) The Apologist shews that the landholders in Connaught, after being obliged to purchase from the crown titles to *their own estates*, twice over, were at last dispossessed of them by Lord Strafford, under the pretext of defective titles.

(2) “That treaty,” says the Apologist, “remains a monument of the most flagrant perfidy that ever disgraced a nation. Upon the faith of it the Irish Catholics gave up that power and influence, which you neither will nor can restore to them. And till that treaty is fulfilled in its most liberal sense, no ingenuity can remove the stain of deliberate perjury from the character of the English nation.” Hist. Apol. p. 132.

(3) Viz. of the Irish Parliament in 1695.

“joy such privileges in the exercise of their religion as are consistent with the laws of Ireland, or as they did enjoy in the reign of King Charles II. and their Majesties, as soon as their affairs will permit them to summons a parliament in this kingdom, will endeavour to procure the said Roman Catholics such further security in that particular as may preserve them from any disturbance upon account of their said religion.”
—Yet no sooner,” continue they, *“were these articles thus ratified, than the bishops began to preach up, that “peace ought not to be kept with a people so perfidious,” as they calumniously described us to be (1) ; the doors of both Houses of Parliament were shut against us, which were open to us under Charles II. ; and more grinding laws were enacted against our religion than we had ever before experienced.”*

Not unlike these complaints respecting the treaty of Limerick, are those relating to the Union. “Do not quibble with us,” the Irish Catholics say, “concerning terms and formalities. It was clearly understood between us, that if we co-operated to bring about the Union, as we actually did, you would effect our emancipation. To give a colouring to this engagement, you inserted in the articles of the Union two different intimations of a proposed change

(1) Dr. Dopping, bishop of Meath, preached this before the justices in Christ Church, Dublin, soon after the treaty of Limerick. Harris's Life of King William.

“ of the qualifying oaths in our favour (1) ;
 “ when behold ! you now roundly tell us, that
 “ this alteration never shall take place, and that
 “ we must make up our minds to wear our
 “ shackles till the end of time.”—Of a still worse
 tendency was the notorious connivance of ad-
 ministration, as well as of the magistrates (2),
 upon the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam from Ireland
 in 1795, at the burning down of cottages and
 hamlets, and the expulsion of their catholic in-

(1) In the fourth article of the Union it is enacted that the quali-
 fying oath shall remain **TILL PARLIAMENT SHALL OTHER-
 WISE ORDAIN.**

(2) Lord Gosford, Governor of that part of the kingdom, having
 at length convened the magistracy of Armagh, described the excesses
 which had then been going on for many months, in the following
 terms: “ A persecution, accompanied with all the circumstances of
 “ ferocious cruelty, is now raging in this country. Neither age nor
 “ sex, nor even acknowledged innocence, can excite mercy.—The
 “ only crime which the wretched objects are charged with is, the
 “ profession of the Roman Catholic faith. A lawless banditti have
 “ constituted themselves judges of this new delinquency, and the
 “ sentence they denounce is equally concise and terrible. It is no-
 “ thing less than confiscation of property and immediate banish-
 “ ment. It would be painful to detail the horrors of this proscrip-
 “ tion : a proscription that exceeds, in the number of its victims,
 “ every example of ancient and modern history. For when have we
 “ heard or read of *more than half the inhabitants* of a populous
 “ country being deprived of the fruits of their industry, and driven
 “ to seek shelter for themselves and their families where chance may
 “ guide them ?—These horrors are *now acting with impunity*. The
 “ spirit of justice, without which law is tyranny, has *disappeared* in
 “ this country, &c.” See Lord Gosford’s Address, published in the
 Dublin Journal Jan. 5, 1796, and the other newspapers.—It does
 not appear that any one of these Orange incendiaries or murderers
 was capitally punished. One or two, who were convicted, pro-
 duced the king’s pardon, which they had got before-hand.

habitants, to the amount of many thousands (1) throughout the counties of Armagh and Down, by the Orangemen, in conformity with public notice given to this effect (2), and affixed to the houses of the devoted victims. This persecution of the Catholics in the North was, in the course of a year or two, followed by a still more violent one, and still more openly abetted, on their brethren in the South. Whole districts were subjected to free quarters, which implies that they were abandoned to the licentiousness of an undisciplined military (3). Hence not only houses, and hamlets, and chapels were burnt down, but also numberless women were insulted, and even brutally violated (4), and thousands upon thousands of men were scalped (5), whipped, pickett-

(1) In these lawless and outrageous attacks upon their property, several hundreds of Catholics were actually murdered.

(2) The notice was generally in these terms ; " To Connaught or
" to hell with you, you bloody Papists. If you are not gone by
" *such a day*, mentioning the day, we will destroy your property
" and yourselves."

(3) It is plain from General Abercrombie's orders, dated Dublin, Feb. 26, 1798, independently of every other proof, how enormous and notorious the excesses of the military had been in the places where they were quartered.

(4) The soldiery and yeomen began by tearing off every article of dress of a green colour from the females who wore it. But they soon after proceeded to much more horrible excesses. Officers of rank have been heard to boast that " not a female escaped defilement within
" such and such districts, as the bayonet, they said, was sure to
" effect compliance." Plowden's Hist. of Ireland, vol. iii, p. 705.

(5) This was the general punishment of all persons who wore

ed(1), strangled, hanged outright, or shot(2). I need not inform you, Sir, that all this barbarity was

short hair, (though many of them had been shorn by violence) and who were therefore called *Croppies*. The operation was performed by pressing a cap besmeared with melted pitch upon the head of the victim, and then violently tearing it off, or else by firing gunpowder upon his skull.

(1) Lord Moira, in his speech in the British House of Lords, Nov. 22, 1797, said: "I have known a man, in order to extort confession of a supposed crime, or of that of some neighbour, picketed till he actually fainted, picketted a second time, till he fainted again, and when he came to himself picketted a third time, till he once more fainted; and all this upon mere suspicion. Men had been taken and hung up till they were half dead, and afterwards threatened with a repetition of this treatment, unless they made a confession of their imputed guilt. These were not particular acts of cruelty, but formed part of the new system, &c." Mr Alexander, a protestant schoolmaster of Ross, has published an affecting account of the sufferings of two poor men of his town, Driscoll and Fitzpatrick. The former was suspected of administering unlawful oaths, merely because two prayer-books were found in his possession. To induce him to confirm this suspicion by his own confession, "he had been strangled three times and flogged four times to no purpose," when Mr. Alexander saw him "brought to the court-house, to undergo a repetition of his former punishments." The latter was a poor schoolmaster, who having cheerfully taken the oath of allegiance to his Majesty when tendered to him, and proved that he neither was possessed of any arms, nor knew where any were concealed; because he refused to take a *general and unlimited oath of informing against his neighbours*, was repeatedly scourged in the most inhuman manner. Another poor schoolmaster, 80 years of age, in nearly the same circumstances, was cut down and killed at his cabin door.

(2) "At Carnew 28 men were brought out and deliberately shot, May 25, by the yeomen and a party of the Antrim militia, without any trial. At Dunlavin 34 men were shot without trial." Hay's Hist. of Insur. pp. 76, 87. Among the latter were 18 yeomen of the Sandders Grove corps. Sir Rd. Musgrave's account of the execution of the last mentioned men is as follows: I give it without comments. It speaks for itself on the part both of the murderers and of their apologists. "Captain Ryve knowing, from the

as contrary to the letter and spirit of the British laws and constitution, as it was to natural equity and sound policy.

Far be it from me, Sir, to urge the above-mentioned acts of injustice and barbarity of a tyrannical Orange faction and a licentious soldiery, together with the connivance of the existing administration, by way of justifying the ensuing rebellion. I hardly set any bounds to the duty of submission, in order to prevent so dreadful an evil. But most certainly I mention these violences and this connivance as an *extenuation* of the guilt of the rebels, and as the evident cause why so many unhappy men were involved in it. In short, I mention the notorious and crying immorality of so great a proportion of the Protestants in Ireland, as the evident cause of the subsequent crimes of very many Catholics. I

“cruel and sanguinary spirit which the rebels had displayed at Ballymore Eustace, that they meditated the extermination of all Protestants and loyalists, was driven to the necessity of adopting a measure, which nothing but motives of self-preservation and the emergency of the occasion could justify. The only troops in Dunlavin were his corps of yeomen, &c. ; the number of prisoners far exceeded that of his garrison.—The officers having conferred for some time, were of opinion that some of the yeomen who had been disarmed, and were at that time in prison for being notorious traitors, should be shot. Nineteen, therefore, of the Saunders Grove corps, and nine of the Narromore, were *immediately led out and suffered death*.—It may be said, in excuse for this act of severe and summary justice, that they *would have joined* the numerous bodies of rebels who were moving round and threatened the town. At the same time they *discharged some of the above corps in consideration of their former good character*,” p. 242.

must add, that the penal laws, as they existed till of late years, had a direct tendency to undermine every principle of religion, justice, and humanity. "By these," says a late writer, "the
 " entails of the estates of Catholics were broken,
 " and they gavelled amongst their children. If
 " one child abjured, he inherited, though he were
 " the youngest: if the son abjured the catholic
 " religion, the father, though a purchaser, became
 " a tenant for life, whilst the son was tenant in
 " fee. Children were encouraged to betray pa-
 " rents and rebel against them; brothers were
 " opposed to brothers; and the ordinary duties
 " of family affection were prohibited as public
 " crimes." Even now these unnatural laws are
 in force against persons who have once abandoned
 the catholic religion; though an unexception-
 able judge in these matters assures us, that such
 conversions of Catholics are insincere, and made
 against their conscience. We learn from him
 that notwithstanding the pains which persons,
 the best qualified, have taken with persons, bred
 Romanists, but conforming to the established
 religion, and notwithstanding the honourable,
 confidential, and lucrative appointments which
 they have attained by this conformity; still the
 leaven of popery remains, and at the unequivocal
 symptoms of approaching death, a few half-
 smothered symptoms of Christianity were kindled
 in their breasts, and " they have uniformly died
 " in the Romish persuasion (1)." In the same

(1) See a Representation of the State of Ireland, &c. by Pat.

spirit of immorality, priests are still encouraged by legal rewards to disobey their bishops and abandon their religion; yet when they afterwards perform unlawful marriages, or commit other acts of immorality, the blame is uniformly thrown, not upon the law which cherishes them, but upon their church which censures them.

But to make an end of this inexhaustible matter, I ask what has been the conduct of government, and what it still is with respect to the poor Irish Catholics who engage and spend their lives in its service? Heretofore, they were cajoled to enlist into certain catholic regiments, so called; under promise of being allowed to practise their own religion, and of not being required to attend any other. To render the deception more plausible, priests were engaged as chaplains to the supposed catholic regiments; but no sooner were these compleated, than the priests were dismissed, and the soldiers drafted into different regiments, mostly into those stationed in the West Indies, where it was equally impossible for the poor men to practise their religion, or to claim

Duigenan, LL. D. M. P. &c. pp. 8, 9. There are few persons acquainted with the history of this gentleman and his family, (namely, that his father and mother returned to the catholic communion in the awful circumstances he has described, and that he himself was a Catholic) who will hesitate to pronounce, that the Doctor is preparing a retreat for himself, "when we may hope the half smothered sparks of Christianity will be kindled in his breast" also! But the learned gentleman may carry the jest too far; and he ought to recollect what he learnt in his Catholic Catechism, not to place his confidence in acts of piety which are to be performed when "unequivocal" symptoms of approaching death" shall appear.

the contract under which they enlisted. At present, Irish soldiers are indulged in a certain degree of religious freedom in their own country; this, however, is far from being the universal case even there: but no sooner are they removed thence to defend some other part of the empire, than they are required, under pain of military punishment, (for that is the convincing argument) to lay aside their own religion, and to take up that of the establishment. But, Sir, when you have thus forced an Irishman to go to church, have you made a Protestant of him? No, Sir, the compulsory measure works no alteration either on his understanding or his heart. He appears, because *he must do so*, at the public worship; but with a mind full of indignation, if not disaffection. He is a conformist exteriorly and by force; in his principles and his heart he is still a Catholic. To satisfy yourself on this head, wait till the situation described by Dr. Duigenan arrives, when “unequivocal symptoms of ap-
“proaching death” shew themselves. You will then uniformly, and without exception, find these self-convicted conformists tortured with guilty horrors, and impatient for the presence of a priest, who may receive them back into the bosom of their native Church. What, then, have you effected by your intolerant laws and articles of war? You have not made Protestants, you have only made hypocrites! You have not promoted the cause of morality and religion in any point of view whatsoever, but you have essentially injured

it ! You have caused men to stifle the voice of their consciences, and you expect them to be examples of strict morality ! You have induced them, in their own full persuasion, to abandon their God, and you expect them to be faithful to you. ——— I have run to a much greater length than I intended upon this subject ; not, Sir, by way of recrimination or reproach, but to point out, in the laws and governing powers of Ireland, incitements and provocations to immorality, which cannot but have produced their effect upon a considerable number of its inhabitants. Still these examples are by no means sufficiently numerous to affect the character of the Irish in general ; and it is still, thank God, true to say of them, that they are at the same time a religious and a moral people.

I take no notice of the ancient calumnies of Silvester Giraldus, the most peevish and prejudiced of all our ancient writers (1) ; first, because these were evidently intended as an apology for the invasion of Ireland by the first Plantagenet, to whom he was a retainer ; secondly, because these have been refuted by former writers (2) ; thirdly, because they have been in a great measure retracted by

(1. As a proof of this disposition, he begins his account of Ireland with an apology for taking up a subject which he alledges is so contemptible, applying to it a scriptural text concerning Nazareth : " Ab Hiberniâ potest aliquid esse boni ?"

(2. See Sir James Ware's Hist. and Antiquit. c. 23 also Lynch in the Cambrensis Eversus.

the calumniator himself; and lastly, because they are, in their own nature, monstrous and incredible. To mention, then, later charges: "The Irish have been accused of perfidy," says Newenham (1): but he scouts the accusation. Carr adds: "In no country in the world is treachery held in greater detestation than in Ireland, because in no region can be found a higher spirit of frankness and generosity (2)." It has also been alledged that they are "destitute of a sense of equity (3)." This vague slander is met by clear and certain facts: "A friend of mine," says the ingenious author quoted above, "in whose house there is seldom less than 1200*L.* or 1500*L.* in cash, surrounded with 200 or 300 poor peasants, retires at night to his bed without bolting a door or fastening a window (4)." I myself observed, that the houses, both in the towns and in the country, were very ill secured against nocturnal depredation, and that in the day time strangers appeared to enter into them without molestation, and to remain in them as long as they pleased; which circumstance argues a great degree of confidence in each others honesty.—I have already mentioned the small number of capital convictions in Ireland, compared with those in England.

The Irish are also charged with drunkenness,

(1) *Essays, &c.*

(2) *Stranger in Ireland*, p. 149.

(3) *Essays*.

(4) *Ibid.*

and I am ready to allow that their cheerful and convivial temper, joined to the natural influence of the climate, disposes them to indulge in this vice. But after all, it is not by any means so common as in England, and most other countries under the same degree of latitude; the reason of which is, that the Irish are instructed and habituated to strive against this natural propensity. As a proof of this, you can hardly enter into conversation on the subject of drinking with a poor Irishman who has experienced his frailty in this particular, without his telling you of the "oaths he has taken against liquor." The fact is, in order to break themselves of the habit of drinking to excess, these people are accustomed to bind themselves by an oath not to taste of any inebriating liquor during a stated time; for example, during a month, three months, or half a year.—There are persons so carried away with prejudice, as to asperse the Irish character with the guilt of a certain other branch of sensuality; but no accusation can be more unjust. "The instances of connubial defection," says the late tourist, "are fewer in Ireland, for its size, than in any other country of equal civilization, &c. The modesty of the Irish ladies is the effect of principle (1). — The low Irish are observant of sexual modesty, though crowded in the narrow limits of a cabin, and are strangers to a crime which reddens the cheek with horror.—

“ They are not only remarkable for their early
 “ marriages, but for the inviolable sanctity with
 “ which the marriage contract is kept: hence,
 “ amongst other causes, the number and health
 “ of their children (1).”

I have reserved the heaviest and most ordinary charge against the morality of Irish Catholics, and indeed of Catholics in general, the charge of habitual perjury, to be discussed in the last place. The liberal tourist, who has borne such honourable testimony to the virtues of the Irish in other respects, appears to have given some countenance to this calumny by the manner in which he has described the prevarication of two witnesses, at two different trials which he was present at in Ireland: just as if he could attend any trial of importance in England without witnessing equal prevarication on the part of more than two witnesses! But to shew how far some English persons of respectable circumstances and situation are capable of carrying their prejudice: I know a person of that description, who has repeatedly and publicly declared, that “ the Irish
 “ are taught to believe there is no guilt in per-
 “ jury; and that priests attend at the doors of
 “ the courts in Ireland, to absolve perjured wit-
 “ nesses as they return from them.” Good God! when will these anti-catholic calumniators become so far rational, as to see that this accusation stands refuted and scouted by the actual

(1) Carr, p. 405.

visible situation of the party accused ! When will they acquire sense enough to understand, that Catholics would have no occasion to petition parliament for a redress of their grievances, but would at all times have a remedy for them in their own hands, if they could but reconcile to their consciences the taking of a false oath. Surely these Papists could procure some priest, either for love or money, to absolve them ! or what would be still better, they might procure a general dispensation from the Pope for a little occasional perjury, which other people commit without any dispensation whatever ! They would thus obtain a great deal of wealth, influence, and power, which they might employ for the benefit of the Church, as well as for their own : and, what would be more valuable to them than all this, by swearing contrary to their own conviction, they would vindicate their characters from the foul charge of perjury, and would pass for honest men !——But, Sir, to be serious, I beg you will observe that the test oaths against Catholics have completely answered their purpose in keeping them out of parliament, benefices, and places, and in subjecting them to a thousand inconvenient and grinding laws. This incontestable and shining fact will, for ever, demonstrate the religion which Catholics attach to the obligation of oaths, and that their Church does not furnish them with any remedy for escaping from it. This incontestable shining fact will for ever confute and put to shame the calumnies of their

enemies, many of whom are known to have never refused an advantage which could be gotten by swearing. I have mentioned to you, Sir, that the test oaths, invented to keep Popery out of the state, have completely answered their purpose: but have those other oaths, which have been devised by the legislature to exclude heterodoxy from the established Church; or corruption from parliament, or smuggling from commerce, been equally effectual? You are aware, Sir, what details I could furnish upon each of these heads: but I spare you the relation, on condition that you never join the vile calumniators who have the front to reproach Catholics with the practice of perjury!

I am, &c.



LETTER X.

Kilkenny, July 13, 1807.

DEAR SIR,

TO attempt to answer, or even to notice the different writers, who have publicly calumniated the religion and morals of the Irish Catholics, would be an endless task: but there is one of them so distinguished by the virulence and grossness of his slanders, that I cannot help at least pointing him out, and giving you a specimen of his spirit, in a few extracts which I shall make from his ponderous libel, called, *A History of the different Rebellions in Ireland*. I was by no means surprised, that a work of this complexion should have suffered the unprecedented disgrace of being rejected and spurned at by the patron to whom it was inscribed (1). Judging of it, however, as I used to do, by extracts, and knowing the mischief it occasioned, I really wondered that no intelligent and spirited Irishman should give that complete refutation of the whole, which several writers have

(1) See a Letter dated Dublin Castle, March 24, 1801, signed E. B. Littlehales, by order of Marquis Cornwallis, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and addressed to Sir R. Musgrave, in which the writer is ordered not to inscribe any future edition of his book to that nobleman.

given of particular parts of it (1). At length, upon reading the work itself, and observing it to be a mere *farrago* of unconnected passages, borrowed, in all probability, from Orange newspapers, without plan, order, style, genius, or sentiment; I was no longer surprised that a man of talents, and of a liberal mind, was not found to undertake the dull and thankless task: since of the most successful refutation of such a work, it may with truth be said;

“Nec habet victoria laudem.”

Ovid. Metamor.

For my own part, Sir, I am far from having either the patience or the leisure, necessary for exposing the enormous mass of malicious and inflammatory

(1) Amongst these are F. Plowden, Esq. in his History of Ireland, vol. iii. and Letter to Sir R. M.—Dr. Caufield, Catholic Bishop of Wexford, in his Reply to the Misrepresentations of Sir R. Musgrave, Edward Hay, Esq. and Theobald M’Kenna, Esq.—I cannot refrain from giving a letter, first published by Francis Plowden, Esq. and addressed to Dr. Troy by the parish priest of Naas, the Rev. Mr. Duane, in which the writer examines into the accuracy and truth of Sir Richard Musgrave’s account of the insurrection at his parish town. It is to be remarked, that Mr. Dunne bears the character of a cool, discreet, and credible man, and that he could not but be well informed of transactions passing under his own eye.

Naas, June, 25. 1801.

“MY LORD,

“I have remarked, in the account which Sir Richard Musgrave has given, in his book on the late rebellion, that he has, in the article regarding Naas, made very great mis-statements. He says, there was a *Captain Davis wounded*, &c. not one word regarding that fact is

falsehoods, which Sir Richard Musgrave has palmed upon the public. All that I shall do is to

true. There was no Captain Davis in the garrison at that time. Captain Davis came in a short time after, and is yet alive. All the officers then in the garrison of Naas know this to be the fact. Sir Richard also states, that *two hundred rebels were killed in the attack on Naas*. The officers alluded to can give testimony, as they were witnesses, that more than *nine or ten rebels* did not fall on the occasion; but in the course of *three or four hours after, fifty-seven of a crowd in the street* were killed. Many of these were shot when escaping from their huts, which were set on fire; others were taken out of their houses, from their gardens, and brought to the Ship, as the expression was, and hanged in the street. I knew two men, Costelloe and Card, son and son-in-law of William Costelloe, who lives near Cruddoxtown, on the Ballimore road, who were called out of their fields when they were at work, by a horseman, who getting ill on the road, was not able to go forward with his party to Ballimore. They, relying on their innocence, and thinking they were only going to goal, walked on quietly with this single dragoon, when they were brought to the inn at Naas, and instantly conducted across the street to the Ship, and hanged. The same day a young man of the name of Walsh, was brought into Naas, who was said by a female to be the person who shot Captain Swaine, in the action at Prosperous. It is now well known that he was not *within sixteen miles of Prosperous* when the action took place there: nevertheless, he was taken, without *any form* of trial, to the Ship, and there hanged, dragged naked through the street to the lower end of the town, and there set fire to; and, when half burned, his body was opened, his heart taken out and put on the point of a wattle, which was instantly placed on the top of a house, where it remained until taken down by one of the military, who marched into town about nine weeks after. When the body had been almost consumed, a large piece of it was brought into the next house, where the mistress of it, Mrs. Newland, was obliged to furnish a knife, fork, and plate, and an old woman, of the name of Daniel, was obliged to bring them salt. These two women heard them say, *that Paddy ate saet*, and confirmed it with a *d--n their eyes!* These women are living and worthy of credit, being judged honest and respectable in their line and situation of life. Another fact mis-

present you with a small posy of flowers culled from his savory garden, leaving them to

stated, or rather falsely asserted by Sir Richard, he says, these was one "Cullen charged with firing three shots at a yeoman, and that "a person, called Kennedy, who was to prosecute the said Cullen, "was seen speaking to a priest by Mr. Kemmis the crown solicitor, "through the bar of the goal; and that in consequence of "this conversation, the said Kennedy denied what he had "said before regarding Cullen." —A more hardy falsehood than this could not be asserted. Mr. Kemmis, whose character entitles him to credit, will, I dare say, if asked, declare, that not one word of the assertion, so far as it regards him, Kennedy, or the priest, is true. Neither is it possible it could be true, as no one of the name of Kennedy was in goal to prosecute Cullen. The only prosecutor was Serjeant James Talland, who said, that "Cullen "charged and fired three shots at him." But when asked by counsel, "why he did not fire at Cullen, whilst he (Cullen) was "charging and firing three shots at him?" he answered, "that "Cullen was in a sand pit." The Court, not satisfied with this answer, further asked the prosecutor, whether "the same view which enabled "him to see Cullen charge and discharge several shots, did not allow "him also an opportunity to fire at least one shot at Cullen?" It is perhaps to the unsatisfactory manner in which the prosecutor answered this question, that Cullen partly owes his life. This, when it could not be proved that Cullen was a yeoman, excited additional zeal in his counsel, who petitioned the Court to save a point of law. The Court humanely extended the royal clemency, under the amnesty act, with reference to the twelve judges. Cullen was brought forward at the following assize and acquitted. Thus, the crown solicitor, Mr. Kemmis, Cullen's Advocate, Counsellors Charles Ball and R. Espinasse, Baron Smith, his Judge, the Grand and Petty Juries of successive assizes at Naas, and others, bear testimony that Cullen's life was saved in this manner, and not by the pretended solicitation or interference of any priest.

(Signed) DUNNE, R. P."

(Addressed to) The Rev. Dr. Troy, Dublin.

Plowden's Hist. of Ireland, vol. iii. p. 708.

make their natural impression on your sensorium (1).

“The common Irish,” says Sir Richard Musgrave, “are doctrinally taught that they are bound by their religion to resist the laws and ordinances of a protestant state, and that an oath of allegiance is null and void(2).”—“It is no less singular than true, that the lower class of Irish Papists never think their priests can contract any stain or contamination from the commission of crimes, how heinous soever (3).”—“They (the rebels) killed one Coyle, a shoemaker, because he could not cross

(1) I have been informed by very respectable and well-informed persons in England, that some young men in Dublin, knowing Sir Richard’s malicious propensity, and the nature of the work which he was engaged in, used to amuse themselves with sending him extravagant stories which they themselves had invented over their bottle: all which they afterwards found in the History.

(2) Hist. &c.—In opposition to this flagrant falsehood, it may be stated that the Irish Catholics are doctrinally taught in their “General Catechism,” approved of by the four catholic archbishops, that they are bound “to be subject to temporal powers, to honour and obey them;” and that “it is sinful to resist or combine against the established authorities, or to speak with contempt or disrespect of those who rule over us.” Pp. 29, 30. 4th edition.—They are also doctrinally taught that they “are obliged to keep their lawful oaths, and that it would be perjury to break them.” P. 28.

(3) Hist. p. 545.—In opposition to this absurd as well as malicious calumny, it appears that the Irish Catholics are doctrinally taught that “to obtain salvation, *all Christians indiscriminately* must avoid evil and do good,” and that “to commit sin brings death and damnation on the soul” of every Christian, pp. 21, 19, and that superiors of every description are bound “to lead those under their care to God *by example* as well as by word,” p. 30.

“himself; but, on finding him to be a heretic,
 “they compelled him to cross himself as well as
 “he could with his left hand, (his right hand
 “being disabled by a wound) superstitiously
 “believing that the doing so would inevitably
 “doom him to everlasting damnation (1).”—
 Here we are told, that a poor heretical shoemaker
 was murdered for not crossing himself, and yet
 that he did cross himself! and that he was sup-
 posed to be damned, not for his heresy, but for
 “crossing himself as well as he could!”—“The
 “practice of putting red tape round the necks
 “of popish children prevailed in the counties of
 “Wicklow and Wexford, to enable the rebels
 “to discriminate protestant from popish chil-
 “dren in the massacre intended of the for-
 “mer (2).”—If this be true, how much louder
 must have been the lamentation of mothers
 throughout Wicklow and Wexford, when the
 rebels became masters of those counties, than
 that which was formerly heard in Bethlehem of
 Juda! and how must these wretches have *out-*
heroded Herod himself, in the murder of inno-
 cents! But all this is left to our conjecture;
 for, unfortunately, Sir Richard has forgotten to set
 down a word of it, though it was so much to his
 purpose, in his history. In the mean time, as far
 as my information extends, not only the children,
 but also their mothers and sisters were left un-

(1) Hist. p. 264.

(2) Ibid. p. 317.

injured by the rebels. Not a single protestant *female* was affronted by any of them; whilst the yeomen and king's troops were infamous for thier conduct to catholic women.—To return, however, to the tape: it is plain that our well-informed historian has mistaken the strings, with which the poor people are accustomed to tie the gospel of St. John round the necks of their children, for badges of protection from slaughter. And surely the historian, who, as a custom-house officer, is accustomed to carry about the gospel of St. John in his pocket, and to force poor merchants and tradesmen, with uncovered heads, to bow down and kiss the leather and paper of which it consists, will not accuse catholic women of idolatry merely for honouring St. John's gospel!—"The Celts immolated human victims to the Deity, and the Irish, who are of that race, follow the same practice, and both on the score of religion (1)."—From this passage we learn that Sir Richard Musgrave, though an Irishman, is not a Celtic, or aboriginal Irishman, and that he does not approve of murdering men in honour of God. Of what breed he really is, heralds, I apprehend, will determine, with less research, than divines will, what religion he is of. In the mean time, the religion of nature will tell him, that it is base and wicked to murder a whole people in their reputation, from the price of whose sweat and blood, he has risen to some distinction, and still draws so large a salary!

(1) Hist. of Diff. Rebellions, p. 374

——“In the year 1790, the *translation* of a
 “book, entitled, The General History of the
 “Church, from her Birth to her Triumphant
 “State in Heaven, was printed in Dublin by J.
 “Mehain, a popish bookseller. It was *written*
 “*originally at Rome*, by a *sanguinary bigot* of
 “the *name of Pastorini*. This writer *defends*
 “and expresses his *approbation* of all the mas-
 “sacres of Protestants which ever took place in
 “France and Ireland. This piece of *folly and*
 “*blasphemy* was published to encourage the mass
 “of Irish papists to join in the conspiracy
 “which was formed so early, and in the mas-
 “sacre which was to succeed it in 1798 (1).”—I
 have quoted this passage, to shew the ease and
 confidence, with which Sir Richard Musgrave,
 who professes to make “truth his polar star,” and
 to be so anxious to investigate it in every matter,
 is capable of palming upon the reader a whole
 string of falsehoods. For, 1st, This History of
 the Church is *not a translation*, but *the original*
 text. 2dly, It was *not originally written at*
Rome, but in *England*. 3dly, The author was *not*
a sanguinary bigot, but a *most mild and en-*
lightened Christian, as the whole tenor of his life
 and writings proves. 4thly, His name was not
 Pastorini, this being a mere allusion to his mi-
 nistry, but the R. Rev. Charles Walmesley,
 D. D. F. R. S. having been one of the scientific
 men who were employed in correcting the old

style. 5thly, The work was *not first printed in* 1790, but *in* 1771. 6thly, It does *not express the most remote approbation of any massacre*, whether French or Irish. 7thly, It consists *neither of folly nor of blasphemy*. but of a most ingenious and learned *exposition of the book of Revelations* (1). Lastly, It was *not published to excite an Irish conspiracy or massacre*, neither of which could be foreseen at the time of the publication, namely, about 30 years before they happened: but to *excite all Christians to lead a holy life*, and to *prepare for the coming of that awful Judge*, before whom Sir Richard Musgrave will be arraigned for his unprecedented malice and horrible calumnies.

I shall conclude these quotations with a few extracts from a copious Confession of Faith, consisting of 35 articles, which Sir Richard Musgrave publishes as the genuine creed of Catholics; assuring his readers, that one copy of it was found in a priest's box at Gorey, and is now in the possession of a clergyman, whom he names, at Atklow; that a second was found some where at Carlow; a third in the pocket of a drunken priest in the county of Meath; and the fourth in the pocket of a robber who was killed in the liberty of Dublin (2). I am sure, Sir, after persuing these quotations, you will not wish for any more of them, nor require

(1) See the 2d English edition, with additional Remarks and Elucidations by the Author, printed by Coghlan, Duke-Street, Grosvenor-Square.

(2) See Hist. of Diff. Rebel. pp. 442, 443.

any other document to enable you to pronounce upon the character of Sir Richard's huge volume, and upon the conscience and honour of its author.

1. "When we assemble we all cross ourselves, saying: "We acknowledge these our articles in the presence of Christ's Vicar, THE LORD GOD THE POPE, and in the presence of the holy primates, bishops, monks, friars, and priests.

2. "We acknowledge they can make vice virtue, and virtue vice, according to their pleasure. They all falling down flat on their faces, beginning the articles, and speaking to the host, &c. we must all fall down before the great effigy of our Lord God Almighty.

6. "We are bound to believe that the holy massacre was lawful, lawfully put in execution against Protestants, and likewise to continue the same, provided with the safety of our lives.

8. "We are bound to believe a heretic cannot be saved unless he partake of extreme unction.

10. "We are not to keep our oaths with heretics, if they can be broken: for, says our Holy Father, they have followed damnation, and Luther, and Calvin.

12. "We are bound to drive heretics out of the land with fire, sword, faggot, and confusion: as our Holy Father says, if their heresies prevail, we *will* become their slaves! O,

“ dear Father, keep us from that : (here the holy
 “ water is shaken, and they say Hail Mary three
 “ times.)

13. “ We are bound to absolve for money or
 “ price those that imbrue their hands in the blood
 “ of a heretic.

19. “ We are bound to celebrate the holy
 “ mass in Latin, having ourselves cloathed in a
 “ holy vestment and a shirt.

29. “ We maintain seven sacraments essen-
 “ tial to salvation, baptism, eucharist, penance,
 “ extreme unction, holy orders, and matri-
 “ mony (1).”

Such, Sir, is this most curious Confession of Faith, the authenticity of which Sir Richard Musgrave maintains, with all his force of argument and persuasion : and thus far I believe in his narration, that different copies of it were dispersed throughout the kingdom, and actually found in the situations he mentions ; one of them in the confessional box of an *absent* priest, another in the pocket of a *drunken* priest, and a third in that of a *dead* robber.—But the questions are, who drew up this master-piece of erudition and orthodoxy ? secondly, who placed copies of it in those situations, or caused them to be placed there ? If you, Sir, and I, and a hundred other persons, of common sense and information, were required to fix upon some one Orangeman, in preference to all others, for these bold though

(1) Appendix to Hist. of Diff. Reb. p. 152.

unsuccessful attempts upon papists, I am confident there would be no difference of opinion amongst us.

If I had the unwished-for honour of Sir Richard Musgrave's acquaintance, I would seriously advise him, the next time he publishes a forged creed for the Catholics, to consult with Dr. Duigenan, who is a shrewd man, and well acquainted with their doctrine and discipline. Methinks this learned gentleman, on such an occasion would address him as follows: "I do not find fault, Sir Richard, with the nonsense of this creed; for as our great predecessor, Lord Shaftsbury, used to say of his popish plot (the credit of which has been given to Dr. Oates), *The more nonsense the better; if we cannot make the people swallow greater nonsense than this, we shall never do any good with them* (1); still there is a prudence necessary in adapting our nonsense *ad captum vulgi*; and there are some deceptions, which, falling immediately under the people's senses, it is impossible to make them swallow: in which case by attempting too much we shall spoil all. Thus, to instance the most indispensable, because the most irritating, of all charges against Papists; I, like you, have maintained that they are bound to murder all persons of a religion different from their own: but I did not pretend, as you unadvisedly do, that they have a well-known

(1) North's Examen. p. 95. Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs, p. 43.

“ written creed to this effect ; for the Protestants,
 “ who have all those popish creeds and catechisms
 “ in their hands, which I learnt in my youth,
 “ and who have conversed and lived with Papists
 “ in these islands, and at Rome itself, would
 “ never have believed me, if I had said so. My
 “ method was very different : I mounted up to
 “ the Council of Lateran, held six hundred years
 “ ago, and maintained that a certain ordinance
 “ of it, regarding the Albigenses, binds Catholics
 “ to murder persons of a different communion
 “ till the end of time ; notwithstanding they
 “ themselves may know nothing at all of the
 “ matter. Now here I was out of the reach of the
 “ vulgar, both well dressed and ill dressed ; and
 “ thus I succeeded in my object, of raising a
 “ clamour against these Papists, and keeping up
 “ the laws against them.—But above all things,
 “ Sir Richard, it was necessary, in fabricating a
 “ new set of articles for the Papists, that you
 “ should have been acquainted with those which
 “ they are universally known to hold, as also with
 “ the terms they make use of in their creeds and
 “ liturgy. How ridiculous, for example, is it
 “ to make them talk, as you do, of saying Mass
 “ *in a holy vestment and a shirt*, when their very
 “ infants will tell their Protestant playmates,
 “ that it is not *a shirt*, but an *alb*, which the
 “ priest puts on to say Mass in ! How glar-
 “ ingly absurd is it to ascribe to them an opinion
 “ that heretics are to be saved by means of ex-

“ *treme unction*, whereas such persons are not
 “ allowed to partake of it ! How inconsistent
 “ with the arguments and ridicule which you
 “ yourself constantly make use of against the po-
 “ pish laity, for respecting their priests, and against
 “ the priests themselves, for not marrying like
 “ the laity, is that article, in which you make
 “ them profess that both *holy orders and matri-*
 “ *mony are essential to salvation*, thus making
 “ priests of all the laity, and married men of all
 “ the clergy !”

But my heart is sick ; and I am ill disposed to
 laugh, while the following awful reflections pre-
 sent themselves to my mind on the perusal of
 this creed. If there are men in Ireland, who are
 capable of deliberately forging such diabolical
 articles of belief and practice, in the name of
 their catholic fellow subjects, and of introducing
 them into the boxes of absent people, and into
 the pockets of drunken or dead people in order
 to gain them credit, of what are those men not
 capable ! What will they not do, in other
 respects, against the poor devoted papists, espe-
 cially if they happen to be magistrates, or con-
 nected with government ! Is not such a set of men
 capable of accusing Papists unjustly, of crimes
 against the state and the peace of society, and of
 treating them as if they were actually guilty ?
 Is it not capable of ordering them to quit certain
 counties, and of burning down their cottages,
 in case they continue to remain in them ? Is it

not likely, by suppressing information, packing juries, and intimidating witnesses, to pervert the course of justice, especially where the point at issue lies between an Orangeman and a Catholic (1). Again, Sir, if there is a people on whom such infernal artifices of calumny and forgery are employed by a prevailing party, how wretched must be their situation? Can we be surprised if desperation should sometimes have driven them to the commission of those very crimes, which they are falsely accused of being habitually addicted to? Lastly, Sir, (but here again I can indulge a smile) if Sir Richard Musgrave is capable of publishing to the world a document so glaringly absurd and contradictory, so revolting to common sense and decency, as this forged Confession of Faith is, and of even appealing to witnesses for its authenticity, there needs

(1) The term of *Orangemen* is not a word of reproach, but a title assumed by themselves, that is to say, if we are to believe Sir R. Musgrave, by a "Society of loyal Protestants, associated and bound together to defend the Constitution in Church and State as established by the Prince of Orange," Hist. p. 70.——He acknowledges, however, that the first Orange lodge was formed in the county of Armagh, September 21, 1795, in commemoration of the battle of the Diamond, in which the *Peep of Day Boys*, a little before, had killed forty-eight Catholic *Defenders*, so called.——But it is incontestably proved that these pretended "loyal *Orangemen*," were the chief of these very *Peep of Day Boys*, as they had previously been called, who fought the above-mentioned battle, and who were guilty of all those acts of violence and cruelty to the Catholics, stated by Lord Gosford in his speech.—Notwithstanding this disgraceful origin, the Orange lodges continued to multiply throughout the island.

nothing more to stamp the character of the historian, and to consign the ponderous history itself to the class of fabrications (1).

I remain, &c.

(1) Sir Richard Musgrave has published a Dissertation at the end of his heavy work, Appendix, p. 178, in vindication of those burnings, whippings, picketings, stranglings, and other tortures, which were so generally as well as illegally inflicted on the Irish previously to the rebellion, and which, in fact, were the chief cause of it. The sum of what he says is reduced to that vile excuse of all tyrants, from King Herod down to Sheriff Judkin Fitzgerald, an alledged *state necessity*.—In fact, this plea is a libel on the British Constitution, which abhors the torture, and refuses to receive extorted confessions. It is, in all respects, worthy of the historian of All the Rebellions, and of the magistrate, who, turning executioner, could strip off his clothes, and scourge a Catholic culprit (for a very slight offence) in the public streets of Clonmel. He even boasts of this behaviour in his book: but he does not say that he presented a petition to government for a pension of 400 pounds per annum in reward of it: which petition, of course, was rejected.





LETTER XI.

Thurles, July 15, 1807.

DEAR SIR,

FROM the variegated beauties of Kilkenny, I arrived, after a tedious journey westward, at the dull uniform plains and dreary bogs, in which this populous town is situated. But the endearing kindness and rare virtues of so amiable and valuable a friend, as my present

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host, are capable of rendering the most gloomy situation pleasant and agreeable. With respect however, to the bogs, dark as they are to the eye, they are yet a source of comfort and of wealth to an industrious people, who have little or no other fuel. Amongst other objects of their industry at present, one is the rebuilding of their noble and spacious chapel in the name of their peculiar patron, as well as national Apostle, **THE GREAT SAINT PATRICK.**

Nothing could equal my surprise, at coming into this island, and dipping into the works of history and antiquity, which have lately appeared here, than to find that it is becoming the fashion, to deny the very existence of this renowned saint ; and to class him with the tutelary deities of pagan nations. This opinion, which was first broached upon a principle of hostility to the religion preached by St. Patrick, has been taken up by the ignorant, the bigotted, and the irreligious. To the last mentioned class in particular, nothing is so precious, as a pretext for laughing at the presumed darkness and superstition of their pious ancestors, whilst, in fact, they themselves are the deserved objects of pity to men of sound judgment and real learning. After all, Sir, we must allow, it is not so very extraordinary, that the existence of the Apostle of Ireland should be called in question ; since, upon the self-same principle, pretenders to philosophy have, in our days, denied there ever were such beings as Abraham, the father of God's

people, Moses, the prophet and legislator of the Jews, and even Jesus Christ, the founder of the christian religion.

The author of the system in question is the Rev. Edward Ledwich, LL. D. (1), a writer who, warped by religious prejudices, takes as much pains to depreciate the character of his ancestors, and to obscure their history, upon almost every subject of which he treats, as a genuine antiquary would take to illustrate them. I can forgive the Irish for not giving a complete answer to Sir Richard Musgrave's History of the different rebellions, on the grounds which I have elsewhere stated; but really I cannot excuse their neglecting to refute Dr. Ledwich's History and Antiquities of Ireland. Whenever this task shall be undertaken by a writer of ordinary talents, learning, and industry; I pledge myself, that the work will be seen to contain more errors, both as to facts and as to reasoning, than any other work of equal bulk, bearing the name of a man of letters. The authority of Dr. Ledwich has seduced the Rev. Mr. Gordon (2) and Sir John

(1) This writer informs us, from Harris, that Ryves, a Master in Chancery, in the reign of James I. started some doubts concerning the existence of St. Patrick, by way of answering a certain libel, and that he tried in vain to get them confirmed by the learned Camden and Usher; lamenting, as he does, heavily, that they could not be induced to do this, and that in consequence of the "decision of these men — hagiography," (as he calls ancient history,) "triumphed over criticism and erudition," p. 59.—The fact is, Camden and Usher had a reputation for learning to lose, which Ryves had not.

(2) See his late History of Ireland.

Carr (1), who give blindly into all his errors concerning St. Patrick, the original faith of Ireland, and a variety of other religious subjects. It is hardly worth while mentioning that Sir Richard Musgrave has thought proper to insert these at the beginning of his ponderous History; where also he condescends to lecture the Irish Catholics on the religion of their ancestors, and to give them his spiritual advice in a variety of particulars.

Let us now see what force we have to draw up in defence of the patron Saint of Ireland, against this new formed battaillon which opposes him. In the first place we have amongst our contemporaries, General Vallancey, Rev. Mr. Whitaker, Charles O'Connor, Esq. Rev. Alban Butler, &c. each of whom is a host of literature compared with Dr. Ledwich and his followers. — To go higher up, we have Fleury, Mosheim, Tillemont, Cave, Nicholson, Harris, Ware, Usher, Camden, Spelman, Bollandus, Baronius, Bellarmin, Godwin, Parker, Bale, and, in short, every other individual writer of distinguished learning in modern times, *Protestant* as well as *Catholic*, who has had occasion to speak of the conversion of Ireland. Are authors of their character to be reproached with being inferior to Dr. Ledwich and Dr. Ryves in criticism and erudition? (2) —

(1) The Stranger in Ireland. — It is proper to mention that this ingenious, and otherwise liberal writer, professes not to be versed in subjects of antiquity, but to be guided in them by Dr. Ledwich.

(2) See Ledwich's *Antiq.* p. 59.

To proceed now to ancient authors in behalf of St. Patrick: there is the great light of the twelfth century, St. Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux in Burgundy, who mentions the saint by name, as the "apostle who converted the whole Irish nation "to the faith of Christ (1)."—Another writer (2) of the same age, our countryman Joceline, a Cistercian monk, of the Abbey of Furness, in Lancashire, has left us this saint's life in great detail. He tells us, that three score and six other writers had preceded him on this subject, but that he has particularly made use of the four histories of St. Patrick's life, which had been drawn up by four contemporary authors, his disciples, SS. Luman, Mel, Benignus, and Patrick Junior, together with a fifth, written partly in Latin and partly in Irish, by St. Evinus (3).

There is another life of this saint still extant in Colgan, composed by Probus, who lived in the seventh century (4); and a pretty long account of him by our British annalist Nennius, who

(1) In Vita S. Malach. c. x.

(2) The great St. Anselm, Abp. of Canterbury, who was born in Piedmont in 1033, writes thus of St. Patrick: "Gloriosus et prædicandus ubique Domini Confessor Patricius admonitus est voce Angelicâ, ut Hiberniæ insulam, fidem Christi in eâ prædicaturus adiret. Vide Pass. S. Guign. &c. apud Messingham.

(3) See Joceline's Work in Messingham's *Florilegium* and the Bollandists, March 17.

(4) Such is the date assigned to this writer by the profoundly learned Bollandists. See this work in Colgan's *Trias Thaumaturg.* These writers, who, with Bishop Nicholson, bring down Probus to the tenth century, are ignorant that he is mentioned by Alcuin in the eighth. De Pot. &c. Morac.

also flourished in the seventh century (1). St. Patrick is recorded as the Apostle of Ireland in all the Martyrologies which have been composed since his death ; namely, in the old Roman, supposed to be that of St. Gregory the Great ; in Bede's, in Florus's, in Usuard's, in Rabanus's, in Wandlebert's, in Ado's, and in that of the Canons Regulars, to which order St. Patrick belonged. The same day is attributed to his commemoration in all these, being that which his name still holds in the Roman, *i. e.* March 17. He is also mentioned by all the original chroniclers of whatever nation, whose subject led them to speak of the conversion of Ireland ; by Sigebert, Erric of Auxerre, the Saxon Chronicler, William of Malmesbury, Florence of Worcester, Marianus Scotus, Adamnan, and a hundred more, who wrote between the seventh and the thirteenth centuries. These authorities evince that St. Patrick was acknowledged by all Christendom, as well as by the Irish, for the Apostle of that nation. Not only do all ecclesiastical histories, but also the civil or Brehon laws of Ireland record the merits of this saint (2). We have an hymn still in being, composed in his honour by one of his converts and disciples, St.

(1) *Historia Britonum*. The learned editor of this author, Gale, says of him: "Claruit Nennius anno post Christum 620." Bale, Tanner, and Cave, agree in this date, while Usher, Ware, and Nicholson, place him in the ninth century.

(2) See *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis*, by General Vallancey, vol. iii. pp. 95, 108.

Fiech, which is generally allowed by the learned to be genuine (1). We have, moreover, the acts of two councils held by St. Patrick (2); and even a circumstantial account of his life, called a *Confession*, drawn up by himself, together with a letter addressed to King Corotic, which all the best critics admit to be his real compositions (3).

Nor are there only written documents to prove the existence of St. Patrick, but likewise all other kinds of monuments by which the memory of personages who heretofore lived can be recorded. The churches which he built, the dioceses which he formed, the monasteries which he founded, the havens where he landed, the places in which he dwelt (most of which edifices and places have preserved his name from the age in which he lived (4); the very conversion of the

(1) Colgan, in *Vita S. Pat.* Ware, Harris, Usher, Nicholson's Irish lib. Ledwich, by way of discrediting the antiquity of this hymn, makes the poet appeal to *Old Historians* for certain particulars of this saint's life. This is a wilful fraud. The original words are barely, *Ut refertur in Historiis*. In fact, there were different accounts of our saint drawn up in his life-time.

(2) See Spelman's Councils, also those of Labbe.

(3) Tillemont, Fleury, Butler, Usher, Ware, and the Boilandists. The last mentioned hagiographers have published these interesting and edifying pieces from manuscripts in the Vedastine and other libraries.

(4) In Ireland, we have *Holm Patrick*, the island where St. Patrick landed; *Sabhul*, or *Saul Patrick*, the barn or monastery which he built; *Ard Patrick*, the high field where he lived; *Knock Patrick*, *Down Patrick*, *Craich Phadrnig*, the famous promontory in Connaught where he prayed (to say nothing of all the Patricks

Irish nation, and the universal tradition, not only of our island, but also of the whole Christian continent, are all so many monuments of this illustrious saint, and have preserved his memory fresh and untainted till the very hour in which Dr. Ledwich wrote his book, as he himself acknowledges (1). In a word, I have no difficulty in saying, that the proofs of there having been such a man as Romulus, or Alexander the Great, are not so numerous and convincing, as are those for the existence of St. Patrick; and the fact in question cannot be rejected without establishing a universal historical scepticism. Supposing for a moment that St. Patrick did not convert the Irish, the question then is: Who did convert them? It would be strange, if they alone were ignorant of what all other nations are acquainted

and the Fitzpatricks who have filled Ireland in every age since that in which he lived; all which are memorials of the great apostle of the country. In the isle of Man, which owes its Christianity, no less than Ireland, to our saint, as his history and the tradition of the place testify, are two churches, dedicated in his name. In Scotland is *Kirk Patrick*, the place of his birth, *Port Patrick*, &c. At St. David's, in Wales, there was a monastery built by our saint, which long preserved his memory, as Usher testifies; and in Cornwall was *St. Patrick's Altar*, as Malmesbury thus informs us: "S. Patricius super altare suum, Cornubiam appulit, quod usque
"holie apud incolas magnæ devotionis habetur." *De Antiq. Glascon.* p. 37. It is gathered from this ancient and judicious author, that no saint was more renowned at this aboriginal seat of British Christianity, Glastonbury, during several ages before the 12th, in which he wrote, than St. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland. The monks there supposed they possessed his relics, though there is every reason to suppose these were the remains of St. Patrick Junior, who was our saint's nephew.

(1) *Antiq.* p. 59.

with, namely, who was their apostle! if they alone had no tradition to inform them, by whom they had been taught to abandon idolatry, to abhor human sacrifices, to renounce the gratification of their passions, and to worship one Eternal Being, by the observance of his pure and sublime precepts! (1)

The apostle of Ireland being thus insolently attacked, it was not to be expected that its peculiar patroness, the saint's contemporary and spiritual daughter, St. Bridget, would escape from insult. But in this instance, it seemed advisable to adopt a different kind of warfare for annoying the ancient faith, from that which was used in the former. The existence, then, of this female saint, though resting upon the same sort of evidence as that of St. Patrick and his fellow missionaries from Rome, is by no means denied: it is even admitted on this occasion, and to answer the present purpose, that these Roman missionaries also had an existence(2).—But it is pre-

(1) A late tourist, whose wit becomes him better upon every other subject than upon those of religion, says, that "St. Patrick was canonized for teaching the Irish to believe in the Trinity by means of a shamrock."—*The Stranger in Ireland*.—It is plain this writer has a very inadequate idea of the benefits of Christianity, in elevating the mind, and purifying the heart, independently of its future promises. But leaving all this out of the question, Dr. Ledwich should have informed him, that St. Patrick was never canonized, and that there is no historical foundation for the story of the Irish shamrock, any more than there is for those of the Welsh leek, the Scotch thistle, the French lily, or the English rose.

(2) *Antiquities of Ireland*, p. 76.

tended, that they had “an accommodating spirit, in making an incongruous mixture of Christianity and Paganism.” In short, it is maintained that St. Bridget and her sister nuns of Kildare, were a continuation of “heathen druidesses, who preserved from the remotest ages an inextinguishable fire (1);” as “priestesses of Vesta (2).” This is asserted on no better grounds, than because the nuns of Kildare used to keep a fire always lighted in their convent, whilst other Catholics extinguished theirs previous to the paschal solemnity (3). But first, if Probus, Joceline, and the sixty-six hagiographers who wrote the life of St. Patrick, are not to be believed for the existence of this apostle of Ireland; upon what rational ground is Cogitosus, with a comparatively small number of the same kind of writers, to be credited for the existence of St. Bridget? 2dly, Upon what authority is it asserted, that “Druidesses kept up an inextinguishable fire from the remotest ages;” or that there were Druidesses or priestesses of Vesta in Ireland at all during the sixth century? Dr. Ledwich, after all his inquiries, has not been able to produce any such au-

(1) Antiquities of Ireland, p. 76.

(2) See Gordon and Carr.

(3) “Apud Kildariam occurrit Ignis Sanctæ Brigidæ quem *Inextinguibilem* vocant, non quod extingui non possit, sed quod tam solícite moniales et sanctæ mulieres ignem, suppetente materia, fovent et nutriunt ut à tempore virginis per tot annorum curricula semper manserit inextinctus.”

Girald. Camb. de Mirabilibus Hibern. Dist. ii. c. 34.

thority; which, indeed, if it existed, would overturn his system concerning the conversion of Ireland previously to that century. But lastly, it is plain that Dr. Ledwich and his followers, in representing the preservation of a constant fire, as a practice essentially connected with paganism, have overlooked a divine ordinance to this purpose, of much earlier date than either Celtic Druidism or the worship of Vesta: I speak of the law in Leviticus, c. vi. ver. 12. *The fire upon the altar (of the tabernacle) shall be burning in it, and shall not be put out.* It was for contemning this *inextinguishable fire*, and using a profane fire, instead of it, in their censers, that the Levites, Nadab and Abihu, were miraculously burnt to death, *Levit. vi. 12.* To give you a proper idea, Sir, of this matter, I must observe that, according to the ancient, as well as the modern ecclesiastical liturgy (1), fire was to be struck and lighted up, with solemn prayers and ceremonies, on Easter Eve; which fire was to be kept burning in the church lamps till the Eve of Good Friday in the ensuing year. Now it might easily happen that for some such charitable or pious motive as the nuns of Kildare afterwards pleaded (2), St. Bridget might have urged an excuse, or obtained a dispensation, for keeping

(1) That this discipline prevailed in Ireland at the period in question, we learn from the life of St. Kairan, Bishop of Saigar, who was contemporary with St. Bridget.

(2) The nuns urged that they kept up this fire for the relief and comfort of the poor. See Harris's Ware.

up the fire in her convent on the aforesaid eve, instead of putting it out. This custom being once established, would, from mere respect to the holy foundress, be retained by her successors. At length, however, to prevent any superstitious attachment to a singular practice, and to destroy the resemblance between this fire at Kildare, and that which had formerly been kept up in pagan Rome in honour of Vesta, the Archbishop of Dublin, Henry de Londres, in the year 1220, caused it to be put out (1); after which, the nuns were left at liberty to light it up again, and to keep it burning, as they did till, three centuries later, it was finally quenched by the rapacious tyrant Henry VIII. who attempted to extinguish the religion of the country, and who actually turned the good nuns out of their peaceful and holy solitude.

These modern hunters after paganism in Christian Ireland think they have discovered another instance of it (though they derive this neither from Celtic Druidesses nor Roman Vestals, but from Carthaginian or Phœnician visitors,) in the fires lighted up throughout the country on the eve of St. John the Baptist, or Midsummer day. This they represent as the idolatrous worship of Baal, the Philistine god of fire, and as intended, by his pretended catholic votaries, to obtain of him fertility for the earth. The fact is, these fires, on the eve of the 24th of

(1) Auctor Anonym. apud Jac. Ware, *Disquis.* p. 97.

June, were heretofore as common in England and all over the continent, as they are now in Ireland ; and they have as little relation with the worship of Baal, as the bonfires have, which blaze on the preceding 4th of June, being the King's birth-day.—They are in both cases intended as demonstrations of joy. That, however, in honour of Christ's precursor, is particularly appropriate, as alluding to his character of *bearing witness to the light*, John i. 7. and of his being himself a bright and *shining light*, John v. 35. (1)

(1) Durandus Rationale Divin. Offic.



LETTER XII.

Thurles, July 17, 1807.

DEAR SIR,

IT would be an injustice to Dr. Ledwich, still more than to St. Patrick and to Ireland, were I to omit noticing the effulgence of “erudition and criticism” which burst upon the learned world “in the hour” when he wrote the sixth chapter of his *Antiquities* (1) : an effulgence, however, which he acknowledges had escaped the optics of a Camden and an Usher, when particularly directed to it (2), and indeed of every other historian and critic down to our present antiquary.

Dr. Ledwich, upon whose foundation Gordon, Carr, and Musgrave build, tells us that there were Christians, and even bishops in Ireland, previously to the æra fixed upon for the arrival there of St. Patrick (3); unfortunately, however, for

(1) *Antiq.* p. 59.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 53.

(3) Dr. L. frequently repeats that the Irish had a regular hierarchy before the age of St. Patrick. His argument is truly singular : Archbishop Laurence says that the religion of the Irish was the same with that of the Britons (namely, at the beginning of the seventh century.) Now the Britons had then a hierarchy, therefore the Irish had a regular hierarchy previously to the fifth century.

the cause of incredulity, these bishops, if there were more than one, received their orders and their mission from Rome, no less than St. Patrick and his companions did.—Now it is to get rid of this Roman origin that Dr. Ledwich plunges into the gulf of inconsistency and scepticism. It is admitted, then, that there were many Christians in Ireland before the arrival of St. Patrick in the fifth century. It is admitted that St. Palladius, a bishop, who had been a deacon of the Roman Church, was in Ireland a little before St. Patrick, having been sent thither by the same Pope Celestine who sent St. Patrick (1); probably also the holy bishops St. Kieran, St. Ibar, St. Declan, and St. Albeus, arrived there before St. Patrick; but they likewise derived their episcopacy and mission, immediately from Rome (2). The question, however, is not, who was the first bishop in Ireland, but by whom the Irish nation was generally converted to Christianity.

Our critic next attempts to invalidate the credit of the ancient calendars and martyrologies; that is to say, of the public registers of all the ancient churches in Christendom, being the most authentic and certain monuments of the facts in question, which are to be found. He objects

(1) Prosper, a contemporary writer; also Bede, *Eccl. Hist.* 1. i. c. 13, &c.

(2) “*Supra dicti quatuor Episcopi, Albeus, Declanus, Chiarnus et Ibarus erant in Hibernia ante S. Patricium, missi à Romano Pontifice sicut et ipse.*” Usser. *Primord.* p. 800. Edit. 1697. Vide etiam pp. 782, 788, 789.

that certain errors have been detected in some of them. But by whom have they been detected? By the catholic hagiographers themselves, by Bollandus, and Baillet, and Butler, and Launoi, and Fleury: in consequence of which detection, these errors have been generally corrected in the calendars and liturgical books; as that mentioned by Dr. Ledwich in particular was, which confounded St. Dennis of Paris with St. Dennis the Areópagite in the calendars of the Gallican Church. In the next place, if it were reasonable to reject all ancient histories and records, in which an error had been detected, we might throw the whole collection of them into the fire. For which of them is entirely faultless? After all, the errors now in question are not, generally speaking, those of the hagiographers, but of the present critic. He pretends, indeed, that “those eminent catholic writers, Bollandus, Papebroch, Launoi, and Tillemont, rejected and spoke contemptibly of the deified phantoms,” as he calls the saints in general. But what person of learning is not indignant at this deception; it being notorious that those profound scholars spent the greater part of their lives in recording the histories and illustrating the virtues of those very saints? In writing their works, the martyrologies were avowedly their first authority; next to which, were the most genuine acts of the saints they could procure. But what more particularly regards the present purpose is,

we know that these learned scholars and enlightened critics have one and all acknowledged the existence in general of Ireland's apostle St. Patrick, and the authenticity, in particular, of the account which he gives of himself in his celebrated Confession (1).

Dr. Ledwich proceeds to find fault with certain puerile stories, recorded of St. Patrick by Joceline and other writers. But do not the classical Curtius, and the judicious Livy, relate many idle tales of the founders of the Macedonian and Roman empires? Have not we been told that the former was the son of Jupiter, the latter the son of Mars, and that he was suckled by a she wolf? Are we, therefore, to say that there never were such personages as Alexander the Great and Romulus?—Certainly not. What then are we to do?—Reason tells us to imitate the example of the hagiographers mentioned above. We must light up the torch of criticism when we read the legends of antiquity, in order to discover which of them are to be rejected and which retained.

Hitherto it appears that Dr. Ledwich has but been skirmishing: but now he is going to display his full force against the united learning and criticism of past ages. “I shall proceed,” he says, “with stronger evidence to prove our

(1) See Papebroch the Bollandist, who has published it; also Tillamont Mem. Eccl. Butler's Lives of Saints, &c.

“apostle an ideal personage (1).” His first argument is, that if St. Patrick had received his mission, orders, and archiepiscopal jurisdiction, from Pope Celestine, Cogitosus, Adamnan, Cumnian, and Bede, would not have passed over these circumstances in silence.—To this I answer, that it is contrary to every rule of criticism and common sense, to oppose negative presumptions to positive testimony. The whole collection of ancient writers, whose *subject required them to treat of the conversion of Ireland*, agree in the above-mentioned particulars; but Bede, for example, having undertaken to write the history of England’s conversion, not that of Ireland, (which latter event preceded the former by a century and a half) had no greater reason to speak of St. Patrick, than he had to speak of St. Remigius, the apostle of the French. The same observation applies, in a great measure, to the Irish writers, Cogitosus, Adamnan, and Cumnian (2). We have seen above, that where

(1) *Antiq.* p. 62.

(2) The work of Cogitosus will be found to be nothing more than an account of the miracles attributed to St. Brigid. He mentions, however, incidentally, her having received the religious veil from St. Macca, or Machillus, who is proved to be the disciple of St. Patrick. See *Vita S. Brigidæ*, apud Messingham, cap. ii. The writer nowhere mentions the conversion of Ireland from Paganism, nor even that of St. Brigid herself. The works of Cumienus, consist of certain epistles to the monks of Ireland, in which he endeavours to persuade them to conform to the custom of the rest of Christendom with respect to the time of keeping Easter. In these, though he does not mention St. Patrick by name, yet he enforces the neces-

Bede's subject did lead him to commemorate St. Patrick, namely, in his Martyrology, he has actually done it (1).

The remainder of our sceptic's "stronger evidence" is equally defective and trifling. He objects that Laurence, St. Austin's successor in the see of Canterbury, writing to the prelates of Ireland, complained that Dagan, one of their number, coming to pay him a visit, refused to eat with him, or to remain in the same house with him (2). Hence the sceptic concludes that St. Patrick could not have been the apostle of the Irish; because, in this case, Laurence, who was the Pope's legate, would not have failed to reproach them with ingratitude to the Roman See. He goes on to argue that Dagan must have considered Laurence as excommunicated, by refusing to eat with him, in as much as by the canons it was held unlawful to eat with an excommunicated person.—The first part of this paralogism, I confess, I am unable to refute, because I can-

sity of having recourse to "the fountain of their baptism," and says that messengers had already been sent from Ireland to Rome, "as children to their mother," to consult upon this point.—See Sylog. Epist. Hib. also Ware's Writers of Ireland.—As to Adamnan, he expressly mentions St. Patrick in his Second Preface to the Life of St. Columba, apud Messingham. "*Homo sanctus proselytus Brito, Sancti Patricii Episcopi Discipulus, &c.*"—Let any person of common understanding now judge of Dr. Ledwich's "strong evidence" against the existence of our Saint, derived from the alleged silence of Bede, Cogitosus, Cumnian, and Adamnan.

(1) Vide 16 Kalendas Aprilis in Martyrol. Ven. Bedæ, item Flori Rabani, Usuardi, Notkeri, &c.

(2) Vide Hist. Eccles. Bedæ. l. xi. c. 4. p. 63.

not see in it the very semblance of an argument. Dr. Ledwich may contend with equal reason, that I do not believe in the existence of St. Augustine of Canterbury, the missionary from Rome, and the apostle of the English, because I have not reproached him with ingratitude to this supposed source of his ordination. To the second part I answer, that though it was heretofore held unlawful to eat with an excommunicated person, yet a man might refuse in ancient, as he may in modern times, to eat with those who are not excommunicated, through pride, resentment, and a variety of other motives.

Dr. Ledwich goes on to quote the letter of St. Aldhelm to Geruntius, King of Cornwall, and the British clergy of his dominions, in which the saint testifies that the people of South Wales (Demetæ) carried their resentment against the English, though Christians, so far, that they would not salute them, nor pray with them, nor drink out of any cup which they had used, unless it was previously washed, &c. (1) After this, the sceptic exclaims: "Words cannot convey a stronger detestation of Popery, than this testimony of Aldhelm (2)." The conclusion he would have us draw is, that the Irish being of the same religion with the Britons, could not be of the same religion with the English, in as much as the latter were avowedly converts of Roman missionaries; and that, there-

(1) Ep. 44. Inter. Epist. S. Bonifac.

(2) P. 60.

fore, the Irish had not been converted by St. Patrick, who was one of that description. This is a hobbling sorites, being lame in all its joints. It is sufficient, however, for the present purpose, to observe that the ancient Britons or Welsh had other motives of animosity against the English Saxons than those of a religious nature : motives, which every one who has travelled in Wales, knows they cherish down to the present time. Nevertheless, I do not deny that there were a few even religious differences, for a certain time, between the ancient Christians of these islands on the one hand, and the See Apostolic, together with the English Saxons and the Christians of the whole world, on the other. But we are distinctly informed what the subjects of these differences were, namely, mere points of discipline, such as no way regarded faith. It is notorious that the chief of these differences related first to the time of celebrating the festival of Easter, (a festival which regulated all the moveable feasts and fasts of the year), and secondly, to the above-mentioned pride and uncharitableness of the Welsh with respect to the English. We have the most clear and positive evidence possible, for deciding upon this whole matter, in the conference held between St. Augustine of Canterbury and the British bishops on the confines of England and Wales. In this St. Austin told them, that several of their *practices* (observe, Sir, there is no complaint on the subject of their *faith*) were contrary to those of the Universal Church: never-

theless, that if they would yield to him in the following three points, to keep Easter at the proper time, to observe the ceremonies of the Apostolic Church of Rome in baptism, and to join their labours with his in converting the English nation, he was willing to tolerate their particular practices in other respects (1). This last condition required by St. Augustine, demonstrates that it was a want of charity on the part of the Britons, towards their former enemies, the English, and not any diversity of religion, which caused the principal part of the differences between them. For if these British bishops had differed from the Roman missionaries, either about the Eucharist, or the Supremacy of the Roman See, or any other article of faith, do you think St. Augustine would not only have allowed, but even have required them to join with him, in the evangelical work of converting the English, which he was then carrying on with the greatest success? To call for the assistance of preachers of a different religion would have been to blast his best hopes. Here it is impossible to excuse Dr. Ledwich of a deliberate imposition

(1) "Dicebat autem eis (Augustinus Episcopus Britonum) quod in multis quidem nostræ consuetudini, imo universalis ecclesiæ contraria geritis: et tamen, si in tribus his mihi obtemperare vultis, ut Pascha suo tempore celebretis, ut ministerium baptisandi juxta morem Romanæ Sanctæ et Apostolicæ Ecclesiæ compleatis, ut genti Anglorum una nobiscum prædicetis verbum Domini, cætera quæ agitis, quamvis moribus nostris contraria, æquanimitè cuncta tolerabimus." Bed. Eccl. Hist. l. ii. c. 7.

on his unlearned readers ; especially when, referring to the passage above cited, he exclaims : “ Words cannot convey a stronger detestation of “ Popery than this testimony of Aldhelm.” The writer is not only aware, that the disputes between the Welsh prelates and the Roman missionaries in the sixth century, had no sort of relation to the doctrines and practices, which constitute what is now contemptuously termed Popery ; but he is conscious, that in those very disputes, particularly in what regards the time of keeping Easter, and the obligation of forgiving injuries, he himself sides with the Roman missionaries against the British bishops.

Our critic’s next strong objection, like his first, is a mere negation. He refers to a letter written in the name of Pope John, and certain other officers of the Roman Church, to the bishops and priests of Ireland ; in which, he says, there is no mention made of St. Patrick. He ought, however, to have added, that the subject of the letter did not lead to any mention of him, as it barely relates to the old question concerning the right time of celebrating Easter, and to the Pelagian heresy, which appeared to be then sprouting up in Ireland (1). This letter, or another written a little before it by Pope Honorius, seems to have produced its proper effect ; as we are assured by Bede that, about this time, the right and canonical time of keeping

(1) Bede l. ii. c. 19.

Easter was observed in the southern parts of Ireland, in consequence of "an admonition "from the Apostolical See(1)." Thus much is clear from this letter, and from two former letters of St. Gregory the Great to the bishops of Ireland(2), that these prelates were in the habit of consulting the Pope for the time being, as their spiritual father, and that the latter was accustomed to direct and admonish them as his spiritual children: so far were they from treating each other as heretics!

After all his boasting, this enemy of St. Patrick is forced to confess that all his "stronger "evidences," as he calls them, are of a mere "negative nature;" but he expresses his hope that they may gain some "weight by their accumulation(3)," though they have none when separately taken. It is proper, however, he should learn that *nonentity added to nonentity will never produce positive being*. Uneasy at the awkward situation in which he finds himself, after all his vaunting of "enlightened criticism" and "demonstrative proofs," he at once begs the question, by asserting, in various vague and unsup-

1) "Porro gentes Sæctorum quæ in Australibus Hybernix insulæ partibus morabantur, jamdudum, *ad admonitionem Apostolicæ sedis Antistitis*, Pascha canonico ritu observare didicerant." Bed. l. iii. c. 3.

(2) Vide Epistolam Gregorii "Universis Episcopis per Hyberiam," lib. ii. Epistolarum Greg. Ep. 36. Ed. Hom. Item. Epist. Greg. "Quirino Episcopo et cæteris Episcopis in Hybernia Catholicis," lib. ix. Ep. 61.

(3) Antiq. pp. 62, 64.

ported forms of speech (1), that the religion of the ancient Irish was essentially different from that of the English and their Roman instructors, and that this is plain from Bede; lastly, that though he cannot discover "who was the preacher of these new opinions," as he calls them, "so opposite to the Romans (2);" yet certainly it was not St. Patrick, nor any other missionary from Rome. He adds, that the first preachers of Christianity in Ireland must have come from Asia (3). I shall take an opportunity, in a subsequent letter which I mean to write to you, of recurring to this alledged difference between the ancient Christianity of Ireland and that of Rome. In it I shall particularly inquire, what the enemies of St. Patrick would gain for their cause, were it in their power to derive the Christianity of Ireland from the Eastern Church. In the mean time,

I am, &c.

(1) Antiq. p. 64.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.



LETTER XIII.

Thurles, July 19, 1807.

DEAR SIR,

STILL dissatisfied, as he has reason to be, with his success against St. Patrick, Dr. Ledwich returns to the charge, and begins to carp at a number of circumstantial particulars related by the different biographers of our saint; which nevertheless are such as, if proved to be untrue or absurd, would barely affect the accuracy, or judgment of the writers, and not the existence of the saint. However, as I have resolved to give this bold invader of historical truth a full hearing, I will not leave even these his minuter criticisms unanswered.

He objects then to what is related of our saint's being born in Scotland of Christian parents, "before that country," he says, "was evangelized," according to the chronology of Bede(1). But first our critic rejects the authority of Bede in toto, as to the different conversions of the inhabitants of these islands; in as much as Bede ascribes all these conversions to the see of Rome. In the

(1) Page 64.

second place, Dr. Ledwich is aware that Kirkpatrick, the place of our saint's birth, though now in Scotland, was formerly within the territory of Britain (1); and that, at all events, St. Patrick was not of a Pictish or Scotch, but of a British Roman family, his father Culphurnius being a Roman *decurio* in rank (though afterwards a deacon) (2), his mother Conchessa being a niece of St. Martin of Tours (3). Of what consequence is it then to inquire when the Picts and the Scots were converted, since it is demonstratively certain, that the Romans, Britains, and Gauls, were Christians long before St. Patrick's grandfather was born?

Our critic next objects to the circumstance of St. Patrick's having resided amongst the canons of the Lateran Church at Rome; because he tells us, from Onuphrius, that "Pope Gelasius was the first who placed canons there, in the year 492 (4)." — He had before objected that Platina, a superficial modern writer, does not speak of *St. Patrick* in his lives of *the Popes*, and now he quotes Platina's Commentator, Onuphrius, to prove that there were no clergy to officiate at the head church of the Christian

(1) Usher in Primord. Camden's Britannia.

(2) The saint, in his Epistle to Carotic, says of himself, "In genus sum, secundum carnem; nam Decurione patre nascor."

(3) Probus, Joceline, Sigebert, &c.

(4) Antiq. p. 58.

world (1) in the middle of the fifth century. The fact is (though Dr. Ledwich does not appear to know it) that, during several ages after the death of St. Patrick, the secular clergy in general were called *Canonici*, because the canons were their rule of life, in contradistinction to the *Monachi* or *Regulars*, who professed to follow the rule of St. Benedict, or some other monastic rule (2).

The critic now carps at the title of *Archbishop*, conferred on St. Patrick by his biographers. "Here," he says, "all biographers, ancient and modern, discover their ignorance of ecclesiastical history. Before Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, enjoyed this title in 673, it was unknown in Britain (3)."——Now let us see (without going further for this purpose than our venerable English historian) whether "all biographers, ancient and modern, discover their ignorance," or whether Dr. Ledwich discovers his presumption!—I read then in Venerable Bede, that "the man of God, Augustine, going to Arles,

(1) There is an inscription on its walls to this effect. It was the imperial palace of Constantine, and given by him to Pope Silvester, long before the Pontificate of Gelasius. St. Leo the Great established the regular observance of St. Augustine of Hippo amongst the clergy of this church. It is to be observed, that the canons of the Lateran Church have always acknowledged St. Patrick as one of their predecessors, and that they celebrate his festival, down to the present day, with a peculiar office.

(2) Concil. Venum. A. D. 755. Can. ii. Concil. Aquisgran. cap. 115. See Van Espen, Tom. i. de Canonicis.

(3) P. 65.

“ was consecrated *Archbishop* of the English
 “ nation, *according to the orders of the holy father*
 “ *Gregory* (the Pope) by *Etherius, Archbishop*
 “ of the said city (1).” I read concerning St.
 Laurence, the immediate successor of Augustine,
 that, having “ obtained the rank of *Arch-*
 “ *bishop* (2),” he endeavoured to promote the
 work of God which was begun; and that he
 “ not only took care of the new church of Eng-
 “ land, but also extended his pastoral solicitude
 “ to the ancient inhabitants of Britain, and to
 “ the Scots who inhabited Ireland (3).” I read of
 their successors, Justus and Honorius, that they
 also were honoured with the title of *Archbishop* (4).
 I might extend my arguments, were there occa-
 sion for it, by demonstrating that York (5), St.
 David’s, Seville, Mentz, Sirmium, and several
 other sees in the western, as well as in the eastern
 church, no less than Canterbury and Aries, were
 honoured with the title and jurisdiction of *Arch-*
bishoprics long before the time of St. Theodore.
 But the occasion does not require such a disser-
 tation, and, I think enough has been already
 said, to prove that antiquary grossly ignorant,
 as well as intolerably vain, who has ventured to

(1) Bede Eccl. Hist. l. i. c. 27. See also c. 24.

(2) “ Laurentius Archiepiscopus gradu potitus,” l. ii. c. 4.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid. l. ii. c. 15, 18.

(5) St. Paulinus, who was consecrated for the see of York in 622, is expressly termed *Archbishop* by Bede, l. iii. c. 25, and received the metropolitica pall from Pope Honorius, l. ii. c. 17.

reproach "all the biographers of St. Patrick, "ancient and modern, with ignorance of ecclesiastical history."

The following objection is nearly allied to the foregoing. The writer cavils at the legatine authority and the use of the pall, said to have been conferred upon St. Patrick by Pope Hilary in 462. Now supposing that Joceline, arguing from the practice in his own time, may have erred in imagining that the use of this ornament necessarily accompanied the metropolitical dignity; yet nothing is more certain than that Dr. Ledwich himself is most egregiously deceived in fancying that the Popes had no legates before the second Nicene Council in 787. To mention two or three instances out of as many hundreds of such delegations: the great St. Augustine of Hippo says, that he was sent by Pope Zozimus to Cesaræa, in Mauritania, to perform certain ecclesiastical commissions in his name (1). St. Leo the Great, in the year 444, testifies, that he had appointed Anastasius, a bishop, to be his Vicar in the province of Illyricum (2); and St. Gregory the Great, acknowledges the Archbishop of Arles to have been the legate of the apostolic see for a long time past, with the use of the pall, in the letter by which he makes St. Augustine of Canterbury his

(1) Aug. Epis. 157.

(2) "Vicem nostram coepiscopo nostro Anastasio, secuti eorum exemplum quorum nobis recordatio est veneranda, commisimus." St. Leo, Metrop. Illyricum, ep. 25.

legate throughout the British islands (1), though he did not bestow the pall upon him till a later occasion. Dr. Ledwich concludes his criticisms, or rather cavils, in the following manner: "It must be tiresome to the reader, as it is to the writer, to pursue further this critical examination of the life of our saint. I do not hesitate in affirming that every chapter in Joceline, Colgan, and Probus, is liable to similar objections; internal and invincible proofs these, that our apostle and his history are equally fabulous (2)." I also, Sir, must confess, that it is tiresome to argue with a writer so strong in assertion and so weak in proof; and I, in my turn, do not hesitate to affirm, that there is not a paragraph in all Dr. Ledwich's criticisms upon St. Patrick and the ancient religion of Ireland, which does not consist of groundless assertions and chimerical suppositions, in opposition to positive evidence.

What I have just now said concerning chimerical suppositions, more particularly applies to the account which our writer gives of the supposed origin of the history of St. Patrick. He says:

(1) "Interrogatio Augustini—Qualiter debemus cum Galliarum et Britanniarum episcopis agere?—Respondit Gregorius—In Galliarum Episcopos nullam tibi auctoritatem tribuimus; quia ab antiquis prædecessorum meorum temporibus, pallium Arelatensis episcopus accepit, quem nos privare auctoritate acceptâ non debemus. . . Britanniarum autem omnes episcopos tuæ fraternitati committimus ut indocti doceantur, infirmi roborentur, perversi auctoritate corrigantur." *Bed. Hist. Eccl. l. i. c. 27.*

(2) *Antiq. p. 66.*

that “The ninth century, being famous for re-
 “viving and incorporating pagan practices
 “with the Christian ritual, and observing that
 “Rōme had her Mars, Athens her Minerva, Car-
 “thage her Juno, and every country and city
 “a proper and peculiar deity, whose guardian
 “care was its protection and security, conceived
 “it a very becoming employment for Christian
 “saints to assume the patronage of a Chris-
 “tian people, &c. (1).”—I should be glad to
 know what Dr. Ledwich means by the *ninth cen-
 tury*. Did these brilliant ideas seize, all at once,
 the whole collection of men, women, and children
 in the ninth century? Or was there, in the ninth
 century, a combination of artful impostors
 throughout Christendom, who undertook to make
 their respective countrymen believe that there
 had been a St. Patrick in Ireland, a St. David in
 Wales, a St. George in England, a St. Palladius in
 Scotland, &c. whilst they were perfectly con-
 vinced that all such saints were mere chimeras?
 If the latter supposition is adopted, as undoubt-
 edly it is, I ask, by what means could these impos-
 tors prevail on the learned men throughout Ire-
 land, England, Scotland, France, Flanders, Ger-
 many, and Italy, to adopt their scheme, and con-
 cur together, as they have done, in publishing
 the same particulars (concerning St. Patrick, for
 example) without the reclamation or objection of
 a single individual amongst them? By what

(1) Antiq. p. 66.

artifice could they induce the princes and people of Christendom, to build churches to the honour of this phantom termed St. Patrick, and to call their towns, havens, islands, and other places after his name? I could be amused, Sir, with the revery of Dr. Ledwich, had it the merit of originality, but being acquainted with the learned dreams of the celebrated Hardouin, who gravely maintains that all the classical books, except Cicero's works, Pliny's Natural History, Virgil's Georgics, and Horace's Satyrs, were forged by the monks of the thirteenth century (1), Dr. Ledwich's system loses its only merit in my eyes, and raises no other sentiment in my mind than unqualified contempt and indignation.

Our author, by way of illustrating his supposition, alludes to the error of Hilduin, in confounding St. Dionysius, Bishop of Paris, with Dionysius the Areopagite, and to the legendary tale of St. James's body being conveyed from Judea to Compostella; but in neither of these cases does there appear to have been a deliberate attempt to impose upon mankind. The writers

(1) If Dr. Ledwich could be compared with Dr. Hardouin, he might hereafter be honoured with the same epitaph:

Hic Jacet

Hominum peradorator

Orbi literati certentem,

Venerandæ antiquitatis censor et destructor.

Docte Felicitas,

Somnia et inædita commenta vigilans edidit,

Crediditque pariter claudia juvenis, delirus senex.

of these accounts were weak and ignorant men, who paid too much credit to the dreams or fables of other men, weaker than themselves, and, by committing them to writing, gave a temporary run to them. They did not palm upon the world a belief in the real existence of phantoms. The author had before quoted with applause the opinion of a well-informed writer, as he calls him, who says, that "the Spanish Patrick (1) " might have appeared in a dream to the Irish, as " St. George did to the English (2), and become " their protector, and at last their apostle (3)." The truth is, St. George was chosen to be the patron saint of England, at a time when our an-

(1) It is true, there have been other St. Patricks, beside the Apostle of Ireland, but none of them are, by any means, so celebrated in history, as he is, and among these there is no Spanish St. Patrick known.

(2) The learned Dr. Percy, Bishop of Dromore, in his "Collection " of ancient Ballads," denies the existence of the patron saint of his country and of the Society of Antiquaries, pronouncing him to be nothing more than a talisman, or character of enchantment. Hence, when the writer of this had, in a Discourse on the King's Recovery, mentioned St. George as an illustrious saint, his Lordship, in a letter addressed to the editor of the Gentleman's Magazine, called upon him to produce his proofs of the fact in question. The writer accordingly published "A Dissertation on the Existence and " Character of St. George," in which he has demonstrated, from the most ancient and authentic monuments, in opposition to the bishop, first, that there was such a saint; and secondly, that this was not the infamous intruder into the see of Alexandria in the time of St. Athanasius, against the assertions of Gibbon the historian. See the Dissertation at Keating and Co's. Duke-Street, Grosvenor Square. It is presumed that the bishop was fully convinced of his error, as he is not known to have renewed it since.

(3) Antiq. p. 59.

cestors, under the warlike Edward III. were preparing to make a conquest of France, not in consequence of any dream, but of his being previously the acknowledged patron of military men: and he never once was termed *the apostle* of England, or even said to have been in England, by a single man of learning.

Dr. Ledwich has elsewhere endeavoured to prop up his system of mingled scepticism and irreligion, with the following chimerical assumption: "The christian missionaries found it indispensablely necessary to procure some saint under whose protection the inhabitants might live secure from temporal and spiritual evils. At a loss for a patron, they adopted a practice, derived from paganism, and pursued it to a great extent in the corrupt ages of Christianity (1). —Thus of a mountain at Glendaloch a saint was made, as of the Shannon, St. Senanus; and of Down, St. Dunus (2)." When our reverend sceptic first sported this ridicule (3), on the great and good men, to whom he is indebted for his civilization, and for whatever he possesses of Christianity, the truly learned and judicious

(1) Dr. Ledwich had the effrontry to quote Baronius, Ciampini, &c. as approving of such vile and impious frauds; whereas the words of these writers barely imply, that the christian bishops were accustomed to substitute the names of *real saints* for those of *imaginary deities*.

2) Antiq. p. 171.

3) Collectanea de Rebus Hib.

Charles O'Connor was living, who did not fail to call him to a proper account for his irreligious impositions. This celebrated antiquary challenged him to prove a single instance of such pagan metamorphoses in the ecclesiastical history of Ireland; and descending to the particulars mentioned by Dr. Ledwich, he shewed that the Shannon, or Senus, was so called many ages before the Christian saint, called Senanus, was born: and with respect to the pretended St. Dunus, he denied that the name of any such saint was to be met with, except amongst the fabrications of Dr. Ledwich (1). With as good reason, may some writers a few ages hence, deny that any such personages as a Lord Shannon and a Lord Down existed at the beginning of the 19th century; and may assert that it was the practice of those our times, to personify rivers and counties. With a still better show of reason, may the learned some two hundred years hence, if perchance any account of Dr. Ledwich and his book should reach them, deny that such an egregious sceptic ever could have existed, espe-

(1) *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis*. See *Reflections on the History of Ireland*, by C. O'Connor, Esq. addressed to Col. Vallancey, vol. iii. —N. B. The reader will not fail to observe in what manner the Rev. Doctor, who undertakes to correct “hagiography by criticism,” contradicts himself in the different accounts he gives of the saints of his country. In his page 66, he says, they were invented by the monks of the ninth century: in the present passage, p. 171, he tells us, that they were created by “the Christian Missionaries,” whom he describes as coming from Asia long before the age of St. Patrick, and therefore in the very first ages of Christianity!

cially as he is described as “A REV. L. L. D.
“AND MEMBER OF SEVERAL LEARNED
“SOCIETIES (1).”

Our author, after appearing to quit the field, again returns to it; and, as I have taken up the gauntlet against him on the chapter of St. Patrick, I am bound to return him stroke for stroke, as long as he pleases to continue the combat. He denies, then, that this saint is mentioned by any author, or in any work of veracity down to the time of Nennius (2), whom he places 238 years below this date: that is to say, he denies that St. Patrick is so mentioned, during more than three centuries and a half from the time of his death.——I answer, first, that if it were reasonable to question the existence of all personages deceased, concerning whom we have no contemporary, or other authentic records, composed within three or four centuries from that in which they lived, then might we deny there ever were such men as Romulus, Cyrus, Abraham, or Adam himself. But secondly, the fact itself, asserted by Dr. Ledwich, is demonstrated in my last letter to be grossly false. For, to omit other documents, venerable Bede, who inserts the name of our saint in his martyrology, lived within two centuries from the time of his decease; the four disciples of St. Patrick, who furnished Joceline

(1) See the title-page of a book called, “The Antiquities of Ireland.”

(2) Antiq. p. 67.

with his most important materials, were the saint's own contemporaries: so was St. Fiech, whose hymn, in honour of his master, yet remains. Nay, the very history of the saint, composed by himself, is still extant, as well as the acts of his councils. I have not yet referred to the important testimony of St. Prosper of Aquitain, a contemporary of St. Patrick and Pope Celestine, and one of the most celebrated writers of his age. Commending the zeal of this Pope, both in repressing the Pelagian heresy, and in propagating the christian faith, he says: "Moreover the same holy Pope ordained a bishop to the Scottish pagan nation; and thus, while he endeavoured to preserve the Roman island (Britain) Catholic, he made the barbarous island (Ireland) Christian (1)." I am not surprised that Dr. Ledwich should have always carefully shunned this irrefragable testimony, since it cuts up his laboured system to the very roots. For it proves that Ireland was a pagan island before the time of Pope Celestine and St. Partrick; it proves that this island was converted by a bishop sent thither for that purpose by the said Pope; and it proves, that this bishop must have been no other than St. Patrick,

(1) "Nec segniore curâ ad hoc eodem morbo (Pelagianâ hæresi) Britannias liberavit (Celestinus Papa per Germanum Antissiodorensem): quando quosdam inimicos gratiæ, solum suæ originis occupantes, etiam ab illo secreto exclusit oceani; et, ordinato Scotis episcopo, dum Romanam insulam studet servare Catholicam, fecit etiam barbaram Christianam." Prosper, lib. contra Collatorem, cap. 41.

because St. Palladius, whom Prosper mentions as having been sent thither a little before, by Pope Celestine, on the same errand, did not succeed in the attempt, and therefore crossed over the sea to preach to the Scots in North Britain.

Drawing at length towards a conclusion of his long chapter, the writer presents us with an unfaithful translation of two prayers in honour of St. Patrick (1), which translation expresses what the prayers do not say, and omits what they actually do say. What is omitted in each of them, is the main hinge upon which these and all the prayers of the Church turn, namely, "THROUGH JESUS CHRIST OUR LORD." By this conclusion of her prayers, the Catholic Church professes and practically enforces, that we can neither merit any favour from heaven of ourselves, nor obtain it by the prayers of the saints, except *through and on account of the merits and atonement of Jesus Christ*. Had our critic been so honest as to have inserted the conclusion of the prayer, his charge of idolatry against the religion of his ancestors, would have struck the most ignorant reader with its absurdity,

Our writer finishes his laborious researches, as he calls them, with a flattering address to the Catholics of Ireland, terming them "a liberal and enlightened people;" and affirming, "that it is not possible they should be any longer amused with fictitious legends, or pay their

(1) P. 63.

“adoration to ideal personages, and that (what
 “he calls) a scriptural, rational, and manly
 “religion, is alone calculated for their present
 “improvements in science and manners (1).”
 Here, Sir, we find the key to that mystery of
 scepticism and absurdity, which we have been
 viewing with so much astonishment. It is for
 the sake of depriving the Irish Catholics of their
 original faith, that Dr. Ledwich takes so much
 pains to deprive them of the great apostle who
 preached it to them. The fact, however, is,
 the Irish Catholics are really too much “en-
 “lightened” to become the dupes of such
 wretched artifices. After having baffled the
 machinations, and withstood the persecutions
 of almost three centuries, in support of the
 religion *once for all delivered to them by the*
saints (2)? namely, by St. Patrick and his
 disciples, in one of the golden ages of Chris-
 tianity, they are not likely to make a com-
 pliment of it to the cajoling, the declamation,
 or the sophistry of Dr. Ledwich. On the con-
 trary, I promise myself that some of them,
 at least, will keep an eye upon him in future,
 and not let one of the numberless impieties
 and errors, with which his book is replete, be
 again published without a thorough refutation
 of it.

I am, &c.

(1) Anti 7. p. 69.

(2) Jud 3, v. 3.



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LETTER XIV.

Cashel, July 21, 1807.

DEAR SIR,

I LEFT my worthy host and the other good people of Thurles with regret; and, at the distance of about a league from it, I stopped for some time to contemplate the beautiful and interesting ruins of *Holy Cross*. This was an ancient abbey of the order of Cisteaux in

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Burgundy, a reformed, or stricter branch of the Benedictine order. Holy Cross was founded by Donald O'Brian, King of Limerick, in the year 1169; though the present ruins exhibit a style of architecture of a later period than his reign, by more than a century. Here are seen the noble remains of the gorgeous church, with its mulioned windows, canopied niches, perforated piscinas (1), and elaborate sepulchres, dispersed throughout the nave, transepts, and side ailes. Here also may be traced the rich sacristy, the strong muniment-house, the solemn chapter-house, the studious cloisters, the sequestered abbot's quarters, the frugal kitchen (2), and the various other offices. But all is now a dreary ruin and a wide waste; where a deeper silence reigns, than that prescribed by conventual discipline in the twelfth century. For then the church, at least, was seven times in the day responsive to the Great Creator's praise. But now a gloomy and profane muteness has supplanted his worship, even in his temple; a silence never interrupted, except by the discordant voices of impure birds and beasts that shun the day-light. Such is the blessed change which is blasphemously attributed to "the light and spirit of God" in the Book of Homilies! And for making this change, the obscene and irreligious Henry is

(1) The niches on the side of the altars for containing the cruets and receiving the ablutions are so called.

(2) These monks observed a perpetual abstinence from flesh meat, wine, and all delicacies; and they fasted every day in the year, except the Sundays, and within the Paschal time.

likened to “the pious Josaphat, Josias, and Ezechias! (1) Well might the poet ask: What must have been the *sacrilege* of such reformers, when what we now view at Holy Cross was the effect of their *piety*! (2)

The church and monastery of Holy Cross were built, for the particular purpose of preserving a portion of the true Cross, on which our blessed Saviour suffered death. Certain it is, from ecclesiastical history, that the Christians never lost sight of this precious relic. It was buried by the heathens under a temple of Venus, in the reign of the Emperor Adrian, when he demolished the original city of Jerusalem; but it was found again by the Empress St. Helena, at which time particles of it were distributed throughout Christendom (3). The three principal pieces of it were preserved at Jerusalem, Constantinople,

(1) Hom. vol. i. Sermon on Good Works, Part iii.

(2) I cannot forbear quoting at full length the admired passage of the poet here alluded to, describing monastic ruins:

“Who sees these dismal heaps but will demand,
 “What barbarous invader sacked the land?
 “But when he hears no Goth, no Turk, did bring
 “This desolation, but a Christian King:
 “(While nothing but the name of zeal appears
 “’Twixt our best actions and the worst of theirs)
 “What must he think our sacrilege would spare,
 “When such th’ effects of our devotion are?”

Sir John Denham’s Cooper’s Hill.

N. B. Sir John Denham was an Irishman, to whom English poetry is greatly indebted for its improvement, as the last great improver of it repeatedly testifies:

“Here his first lays majestic Denham sung.”

Pope’s Windsor Forest, &c.

(3) St. Cyril Bishop of Jerusalem, a contemporary author, Catech. ii. 10, 13.

and Rome; from each of which small particles were occasionally taken. You will be surprised, Sir, when I tell you, that the identical portion of the true Cross, for the sake of which this splendid fane was erected, is now in the possession of my respected friend and fellow traveller; having been preserved from sacrilege in the reign of Henry VIII. by the Ormond family, and by them transmitted to the family of Kavenagh, a surviving descendant of which has deposited it with my friend (1). It is by far the largest piece of the Cross I ever met with, being about three inches long, and about half an inch broad, but very thin. It is inserted in the lower shaft of an archiepiscopal cross six inches and a half in length, being made of some curious wood, and inclosed in a gilt case. Had you seen me respectfully saluting that material instrument of my redemption, you would, perhaps, have accused me of idolatry; and yet, Sir, you may recollect, that when you and I and certain other friends visited the British Museum, most of the company kissed the old parchment of Magna Charta, upon bended knees, without any imputation of idolatry: and when the miniature of your deceased father, inclosing a relic of his hair, was brought home to you by the artist, you paid it, if I remember right, some such homage of respect and affection. You will tell me, that you did not mean, on this occasion, to pay respect

(1) I have seen authentic vouchers for these several particulars in the possession of my friend.

to the picture itself, but to the beloved personage whom it recalled to your remembrance; and I admit your plea. But pray, Sir, why may not I avail myself of the same plea, in justification of the respect which I paid to, what I believe to have been, part of the very wood on which my best friend shed his blood for me. Am not I as well able to distinguish between a piece of wood and the great Redeemer, as you are to distinguish, between a piece of colouring and your deceased parent? Or, as the nobles of the land are to distinguish, between the empty chair of state (to which they sometimes bow) and the King's person? Or as a witness in a court of justice is to distinguish, between the paper and ink he kisses, and the word of God which these represent to him?

But, to quit the regions of controversy for those of antiquity, having again mounted my chaise at Holy Cross, and proceeded two or three miles in the same western direction in which I came to it, I descried, amongst the clouds, the Rock of Cashel; for so the ancient cathedral of this metropolitical see is called, from the lofty rugged rock upon which it stands. A nearer survey of this awful pile suggests the idea of a castle rather than a church. In fact, it was both the one and the other. For here the renowned Cormac Cuillinan, who was at the same time King and Archbishop of Munster (being also a celebrated legislator, poet, and saint), erected his royal castle and his metropolitical cathedral close together. The ca-

thedral he consecrated to God, in honour of St. Patrick, A. D. 900 (1) ; but another, much more spacious and elegant, was added to this, above two centuries later, being consecrated, and a synod held in it, A. D. 1134 : at which time the former church began to be used as a chapter-house. The present cathedral bears intrinsic marks of the age assigned to its erection, namely, the twelfth century ; as does Cormac's church, now called Cormac's hall, of the tenth. But both these venerable edifices, together with the adjoining palace, have been abandoned by the late archbishops ; who have built for themselves a more comfortable residence in a different situation, and a church better proportioned to the small number of their flock. The huge pile of building before us, covering, as it does, the native rock, and seeming as if it had been formed out of its summit, does not consist only of the cathedral and the castle, but also of one of those remarkable round towers, which are, in a manner, peculiar to Ireland, and which have exercised the ingenuity of so many antiquaries to explain their original use. This tower, and that at Kilkenny, are the highest I have seen in this country, and adjoin to the cathedral, the latter being within a

(1) A curious old painting of Cormac in robes, partly royal and partly archiepiscopal, together with his patron, St. Patrick, is seen in the new and spacious catholic chapel of the city of Cashel, in the care of the Rev. Mr. Wright. Though I have followed Ware, Harris, Nicholson, &c. in the date here assigned to Cormac ; yet I have some reason to suspect that he lived at a much later period.

few feet of it, while the other actually communicates with it by a door at a considerable height from the ground.

These towers are, as their name imports, perfectly round, both on the outside and in the inside. They are carried up, in this shape, to the height of from 50 to above 130 feet (1), and terminate, at the top, in a tapering sugar-loaf covering, which is concave in the inside, and convex on the outside. They are, in general, about 14 feet in the diameter at the bottom, comprehending the thickness of the walls, and about 8 feet in the diameter of the cavity. They decrease insensibly up to the top, where they measure upon an average about 6 feet in the interior. There is a door into them, at the height of from 6 to 16 or 20 feet from the ground. They are universally built of stone, though not always of the stone which the country affords. The materials of this tower of Cashel, are found to have been brought from a considerable distance, and are much better than those of which the cathedral is built. The workmanship of them is excellent, as appears to the eye, and as is proved by their durability. When viewed in the inside, they are found to be perfectly empty. There are, however, holes in the stone work of the walls, into which beams appear to have been heretofore inserted, for forming stories at proper distances; though all these beams are now decayed, and there are

(1) Kilkenny tower is said by Harris to be 132 feet high.

a few small loop-holes, perhaps four or five in the whole height, for admitting light into the interior. Near the top of each tower, there are usually four of these loop-holes, corresponding, in general, with the four cardinal points of the compass. I must not forget to add, that the round towers are always found, either adjoining to churches, or to the site of ancient churches.

From this description of these celebrated towers, I make no doubt you will form as accurate an idea of them, as if you had actually seen them; and will, of course, be qualified to judge of the respective systems of different authors concerning their use. But first, to say a few words concerning the period in which they were generally erected: it appears to me that this must be very remote, from the circular arches over the doors of many of them, which prove them to be anterior to the introduction of the pointed arch; from the Saxon zigzag and other ornaments of these door-ways; from the circumstance of the timber, which formed the stages of them, having entirely mouldered away and disappeared; and from the account which Giraldus Cambrensis gives of them in the 12th century; for he describes them as quite common throughout Ireland, and as being then of a remote antiquity. It seems to me, however, that he himself did not understand their original use. The prevailing opinion which ascribes the building of them to the Ostmen or Danes, does not seem to be well founded. These invaders never extended their

conquests to all the parts of Ireland, in which these towers are found. They were not so completely masters of any considerable part of the interior country, as to venture upon raising considerable structures in it. These pirates did not build similar towers in England, Normandy, or Sicily, when they conquered those countries, nor did they even build such in their own country, as appears upon inquiry. Finally, the reason assigned for attributing these works to foreigners, namely, the supposed rudeness of the Irish, is evidently ill founded. For can we suppose that the tutors of the English, French, and Germans, in the learned languages, the sciences, and music, as the Irish are known to have been during four centuries, were incapable of learning how to build plain round towers of stone, when they saw their scholars all around them erecting stately churches and monasteries of stone; most of which, we are assured, were ornamented with towers.

Some persons have conceived the round towers of Ireland to have been built as places of security. I grant that a single person might defend himself in one of these, *cæteris paribus*, against a single enemy; but the man who had the means of erecting a tower of this nature, would want space for many other defenders, and for many persons to be defended besides himself. — Other conjecturers have supposed they were intended for pharoses or beacons. — But, not to mention that they are frequently

placed in low situations, and that two or three of them are sometimes found to stand near together, the apertures at the top of them are not large enough to transmit any considerable body of light, being the very reverse, in this respect, to our modern light-houses.——A third opinion, that of the learned Vallancey, is, that they were made by the Phœnicians or Carthaginians, in their commercial visits to Ireland, as Pyra-theia, or fire-altars. —— But to answer this purpose, there was no occasion of carrying them up to so great a height; and they ought rather to have been left open at the top, like our great furnaces, than closed up, as they are found to be. Besides, it is not likely that mere commercial visitors should erect places of worship for themselves in all the interior parts of the country, as well as upon the sea coast.——A fourth system is, that they were built for watch-houses, in which guards were stationed to give notice, by trumpets or other means, of the approach of enemies or thieves; and certainly if these towers had been placed near the castles which were built in the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries throughout Ireland, there would not be wanting tolerable good authority to support this system, in a passage from a well-informed author of the 16th century, which has generally been overlooked (1). —— But as

(1) Stanyhurst, describing the manners of the Irish, says: “Impri-
 “ mis autem castellano præsidio se tuentur, ne, illis quiescentibus,
 “ nocturna vis inferatur. Quare, ut tale quiddam incommodi de

they are universally found near churches or chapels, or at least near the site of ancient churches or chapels, and as they are not always even in elevated situations, I cannot admit them to have been watch-towers. — A fifth hypothesis is, that of Molyneaux and Dr. Ledwich (1), who maintain that they were built for belfries to the churches near which they are placed. — In opposition to this assertion I have to observe, that none of these towers is large enough for a single bell of a moderate size to swing round in it ; that from the whole of their form and dimensions, and from the smallness of the apertures in them, they are rather calculated to stifle, than to transmit to a distance, any sound that is made in them ; lastly, that though possibly a small bell may have been accidentally put up in one or two of them, at some late period (2), yet we constantly find

“ nocte non accidat, habent in castelli vertice, tanquam in specula,
 “ excubias, quæ sæpissime vociferant, et in frequentibus clamoribus
 “ majorem partem noctis vigilant. Atque has vociferationes idcirco
 “ iterant ut nocturnis furibus et viatoribus significant, patrem familias
 “ non ita gravitur dormire, quin promptus sit hostes a suis laribus
 “ viriliter ejicere.” — *De Rebus in Hib. gestis*, p. 33.

(1) See his *Dissertation in Collectanea*, vol. ii. also his chapter on Round Towers, in his *Antiquities*, p. 155.

(2) Dr. Ledwich tells us, from Mr. Smith, that the Round Tower at Ardmore has been, at some period, used to hang a bell in, as appears by three “ pieces of oak still remaining near the top of it,” and by “ two channels which are cut in the sill of the door where “ the rope went out, the ringer standing below the door on the “ outside.” *Antiq.* p. 163. But if these pieces of oak were coeval with the tower, it is unaccountable that they should have remained entire, while the beams in every other tower have mouldered away.

other belfries or contrivances for hanging bells in the churches adjoining to them. In the mean time, we can derive no information from the earliest writer who takes notice of the towers, except that they were common throughout Ireland, that they were of great antiquity in the 12th century, and that they were considered as having been built for some religious purpose (1).

The idea, Sir, which first struck me, upon attentively surveying these towers, was the same which I have since learnt was adopted by Dean Richardson and the learned Harris, namely, that they were built as habitations for a certain set of anachorites, called *Inclusi*, or *Cellani*. We otherwise know, that such recluses very frequently resided close to the churches of Ireland in ancient times. An early model of anachorites was St. John the Baptist, who passed his life in the

Again, what reason can Dr. Ledwich assign why there are not holes in the sills of every other tower?—In a word, the ancient architects were too wise, to place the bell under cover, and the ringer in the open air.

(1) Giraldus giving a fabulous account of the origin of the lake called Lough-Neagh, which, he says, was caused by the overflowing of a fountain, that on a sudden deluged a large tract of land and destroyed a wicked race of people, adds that, in calm weather, the fishermen of the lake are accustomed to point out *the tall, narrow, ecclesiastical round towers, peculiar to Ireland, under the water*. “*Piscatores aquæ illius turres ecclesiasticæ, quæ, more patriæ, arctæ sunt et altæ, nec non et rotundæ, sub undis manifeste, sereno tempore conspiciunt et extraneis transeuntibus, reique causas admirantibus frequenter ostendunt.*” Topograph. Hib. Dist. ii. c. 9.

deserts of Judea, cloathed with a hair cloth, and living upon locusts and wild honey (1). Afterwards, we find a Paul the Hermit, an Antony, an Hilarion, and a crowd of other solitaries, who filled the deserts of Egypt and Syria. The greater part of these lived in monasteries, but several of them resided by themselves in caves, or upon the tops of mountains, or in other situations almost inaccessible. At length, in the fifth century, one of them, St. Simeon, a Syrian, to prevent the interruption of visitants, and to lead a more mortified life, caused a pillar to be erected 40 cubits high, and three feet in diameter; on the top of which he passed the last 20 years of his life (2). His example was followed by others, and an order called *Stylites*, from their living upon pillars, subsisted in the East, till it was desolated by the Saracens. An attempt to lead the same kind of life was made in the West by one Vulfilaic, a native of Lombardy, who undertook to live upon a column, near Triers, in Germany. But the German bishops judging this practice to be too singular in itself, and too rigorous for these climates, put a stop to it, and obliged the new Stylite to de-

(1) Mark i. 4. Luke i. 8.

(2) Amongst other vouchers for this extraordinary fact is the famous church historian Theodoret, who professes to have been perfectly well acquainted with the saint.—The Stylite, as he was called, was, from time to time, furnished with a small quantity of food from below, and he reposed against certain rails which surrounded the top of the pillar when he slept.

scend from his column (1). It is well known that the number of the recluses, together with their austerity and abstraction from the things of this world, was in no part of the western church so great as in Ireland, during the four first centuries after its general conversion (2). This being so, what wonder that some amongst them who resided near the churches, for the sake of approaching to the sacraments, should wish to raise their cells into the air, to be thus more retired from the crowds which frequented the churches ; and also to imitate, as closely as this northern climate would permit, the famous St. Simeon and the other Stylites of the East (3). By living within the column instead of the outside of it, they avoided the ostentation which the western bishops objected to, and by having a covering over their heads, they were protected from the greatest severity of the weather ; as it

(1) Greg. Turon. Hist. l. viii. c. 15.

(2) Harris has furnished us with a long list of Irish anachorites or Includi, though it is evident he could not get to a knowledge of one thousandth part of their number.

(3) It is certain that St. Simon's *στύλη* was round, and though Raderus speaks of the cells usually built for the Includi of Bavaria, as being square ; yet, it is certain, that in a matter of optional devotion, such as the one in question, there was no fixed ecclesiastical law. I have observed, that the piers for supporting large doors and gates, as also many other buildings in Ireland, are made in a circular form with a conical cap upon them. Whence could this singular style have been derived, except from the round towers ? And from what models are the round towers themselves copied, except from the columns of the eastern anachorets ?

was indispensably necessary they should be in this northern climate. If we examine the doorways of the towers, we find them universally raised from the ground, generally to the height of from six to twenty feet. Hence we may conclude, that they were not made to be easily entered into, or for any of the ordinary purposes of life. They are also very commonly ornamented in the style of the times, namely, the Saxon style; because the ceremony of introducing the anachorite into the door of that cell, from which he was no more to go out, like a monastic profession, was conducted with much solemnity (1). It required a ladder to get into the tower, which the recluse, of course, drew up after him when he entered, and which would be equally necessary for him, to ascend or to descend from one story to another. He would naturally occupy which ever story suited the weather, his health, or his devotion; but he would undoubtedly receive the priest who came to communicate him, or the charitable person who brought him provisions, or the pious Christian who sought his advice (2), in the lower apartment, next to the door.

(1) In the life of St. Raynerus the Anachorite, it is said: "*Cum multa devotione et reverentia clausus est in clusorio, juxta ostium majoris ecclesie.*"

(2) We learn from St. Bernard, that St. Malachy, afterwards Archbishop of Armagh, in the 12th century, applied for religious instruction, when a youth, to a holy solitary, by name Imarus, who was shut up in a cell near the cathedral of the said city, probably in a

Upon the whole, Sir, I have no sort of doubt, that these curious and singular monuments of Irish antiquity, were built for the habitation of anachorites, within a century or two after the conversion of the island. They are admirably well adapted and situated for the purposes of these recluses, and they bear as near a resemblance, as circumstances would permit, to the *στυλι* of the admired Syrian hermits. It is impossible to shew what other purpose they were calculated for, and it is equally impossible to discover the vestiges of any other *Clusoria* in the neighbourhood of the great churches; which, however, we know to have heretofore existed near many of them. But, after all, the present antiquarian disquisition is insignificant, compared with that which I am next required to enter upon; namely, what species of Christianity was originally preached to the Irish nation?

I am, &c.

round tower. St. Bern. in Vita St. Malach. c. 2. We have also seen above, that the famous *Scribe of Ireland*, at the close of the 9th century, Suibne, led the life of an anachorite.—N. B. The Rev. W. Beauford, in vol. iii. of the *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, p. 80, remarks, that round towers, resembling those of Ireland, are frequently found near the old Greek churches in the East, where, in fact, these stylite anachorites were very common.

LETTER XV.

Cashel, July 22, 1807.

DEAR SIR,

IN treating of the important subject of antiquity, which I announced at the conclusion of my last letter, I have to combat two principal adversaries ; persons of very different characters, attainments, and systems, but, nevertheless, combined together in the same cause, that of robbing the Irish Catholics of their ancient faith. These persons are Archbishop Usher and Dr. Ledwich. They both maintain, that the original Christianity of Ireland was not Catholic, but rather the reverse of it. They are, however, very different and inconsistent in their stories with respect to the source and nature of this Christianity, as will appear from the following abstract of their respective systems. What Archbishop Usher says is, in substance, this : “ Unquestionably there was a
“ missionary from Rome, of the name of Pa-
“ trick, who, together with his disciples, con-
“ verted the greater part of our Irish ancestors
“ from paganism to Christianity, about the
“ middle of the fifth century. All history attests

"it, and it would be madness to deny it. But I
 "can prove, from the very acts of this apostle,
 "from venerable Bede, and other ancient doc-
 "tors of the Church, that the religion then im-
 "ported by St. Patrick was different in its essen-
 "tial parts, from that professed by the Catholics
 "at the present time."——On the other hand,
 Dr. Ledwich exclaims: "Away with the phan-
 "toms invented by confederated monks of the
 "ninth century, in imitation of Mars, Minerva,
 "and Juno. There never was such a man at all
 "as St. Patrick, the apostle of Ireland; and it
 "is certain that the Irish were converted to a
 "religion the very reverse of popery, by some
 "unknown preachers from Asia, long before the
 "fifth century, when he is supposed to have
 "lived; which pure religion continued in Ire-
 "land down to the year 1152. As to Ware,
 "Harris, and Primate Usher, they had not even
 "a tolerable idea of our original episcopacy (1);
 "and when they appeal to the testimony of Bede
 "and the English Saxon church, in opposition to
 "Popery, they appeal to acknowledged Papists."
 ——I shall first pay attention to the arguments
 of the Archbishop, as they are detailed by Har-
 ris; after which I shall again notice the declama-
 tions of Ledwich (2): the occasion, however,
 requires that I should compress both the former
 and the latter, together with my answers, into the
 narrowest compass possible.

(1) See *Antiquit.* p. 87.

(2) See a Dissertation annexed to the Life of St. Patrick.

I. It is urged by Usher, that the Christianity which prevailed in the age of St. Patrick, and a considerable time afterwards, could not be the religion of modern Catholics, because the poet Sedulius in the fifth century, and our venerable Bede in the eighth, strongly recommended the reading of the holy scriptures. — But does the Catholic Church in these times forbid the reading of them? So far from that, she imposes a strict obligation of reading them upon all her clergy, and she interdicts the practice to none of her children; she only expresses a desire, that they who apply to it, may have some small previous tincture of literature, or, at least, that they may be possessed of docile and humble minds, so as to be willing to admit her interpretation of the many things *hard to be understood* (1), which occur in them. In the mean time, I might quote whole volumes of passages from the Fathers (2) and Councils (3) of the Church, belonging to

(1) 2 Pet. iii. 16.

(2) See in particular amongst St. Patrick's contemporaries, St. Basil, Lib. de Spir. S. c. 27. St. John Chrys. in Orat. 4. in Epist. ad Thessal. and St. Vincent of Lerins, in the whole of his golden work, called, "Commonitorium adversus profanas Hæreseon novitates."

(3) See in particular the speech of St. Wilfrid, commended by Bede, Hist. l. iii. c. 27. also the decrees of the synods of Herudford, l. iv. c. 5. and of Hedfield, l. iv. c. 17. Sir Richard Musgrave, referring to the assertions of Usher, which he recommends to the consideration of Catholics, takes upon himself to assert, that "until Archbishop Anselm's time, (namely, the 12th century) the Irish clergy were totally ignorant of the councils of the Church, and

the ages in question, by way of proving that they admitted certain unwritten apostolical traditions as the word of God, equally with the written Bible; and that they unanimously rejected from their communion, *as heathens and publicans*, all those who *refused to hear the Church* in her decisions (1).—II. It is objected by Usher, that what is called St. Patrick's Purgatory was not instituted by the saint of that name.—This I readily grant (2); but if he argues from thence, that St. Patrick and the early Christians did not believe in a middle state of souls after death, which may be assisted by the prayers of living Christians, he is guilty of an error both in reasoning and in fact. It will be seen in this saint's second council, that he forbids the holy sacrifice to be offered up for those persons after their death, who had rendered themselves unworthy to have it offered up for them in their life-time (3). It will not be disputed that the writings of Bede abound with testimonies in favour of prayers for the dead, of purgatory, &c. (4) and it is a fact,

" derived their knowledge of Christianity for near 800 years from " no other source but the Bible." *Memoirs of the Rebellion*, p. 2. It is not by way of entering into a controversy upon ecclesiastical matters with Sir R. Musgrave that I notice this revolting falsehood, but only by way of shewing Sir Richard's propensity to assert with the utmost confidence facts of which he is totally ignorant.

(1) Matt. xviii. 17.

(2) It was set on foot by an Abbot Patrick several ages later, and was once suppressed by an order of the Pope, namely, in 1497.]

(3) 2 Concil. S. Patricii, cap. 12. Spelman, Concil. p. 57.

(4) Hist. l. iv. c. 22. l. iii. c. 19.

that he himself, when he came to die, earnestly desired that prayers and masses might be offered up for him (1).—III. It is said that St. Patrick condemned the worship of images.—True, he condemned and extirpated the use of pagan idols ; but here is not the shadow of an argument to shew that he deviated from the received doctrine and practice of the Universal Church, with respect to the paying a proper reverence to the cross of Christ, his image, or the images or relics of the martyrs and saints, or with respect to the pious usage of desiring the saints to offer up prayers for us. At the time when St. Patrick arrived in Ireland, he saw the cross of Christ exalted upon the imperial standards, and he left the great doctors of Christianity, a Chrysostome, an Augustine, a Prosper, and a Leo, bearing ample testimony to the piety and utility of all these practices (2). He himself is recorded as bringing over relics into this island (3), as Usher himself acknowledges St. Palladius did before him (4). With respect to our native historian and theologian, Venerable Bede, whom Usher appeals to, he describes St. Augustine of Canterbury preaching the gospel to King Ethelbert, with the cross for an ensign, and

(1) Cuthbert in Vit. Bed. Act. Bened. tom. iii.

(2) See the Liturgy of St. Chrysost. Aug. Sermon. 25. de Sanctis, &c. Prosper de Vita Contemplat. c. 4. Leo Sermon. de S. Vine.

(3) Jocelin, cap. 166.

(4) Primord. p. 512.

the figure of Christ for an emblem (1) ; he represents the same saint consecrating pagan temples with holy water and relics (2), and offering up homage to God by the sacrifice of the mass (3). With respect to images in particular, Venerable Bede proves that God did not interdict the total use of them, by his commanding the figures of cherubim and oxen to be placed in the temple: “ for certainly,” he adds, “ if it was lawful to make twelve oxen of brass to support the brazen sea, it cannot be amiss to paint the twelve apostles going to preach to all nations (4).”——IV. We are told that the liturgy of St. Patrick differed from that of the Roman Church.—It is not, however, proved to have differed, in the smallest tittle, from that which was followed at Rome when St. Patrick received his mission ; much less is it proved to have deviated in any point which is essential to the nature of the sacraments and sacrifice of the Church in all ages and countries. That the catholic liturgies of all times and countries have been essentially the same in this respect, is abundantly proved by divines and canonists (5). Nevertheless, it is to be remarked, that a certain latitude in mere ceremonies

(1) Lib. i. c. 25.

(2) Lib. i. c. 26.

(3) Lib. i. c. 30.

(4) De Templo Salom. cap. 19.

(5) See Explication de la Messe, par Le Brun, Goarius, Morinus, &c.

and particular devotions, has always been allowed to great or national churches, under the regulation of their head pastors. St. Gregory permitted our apostle, St. Augustine, to adopt any usages of this nature for the infant church of the English, which he might choose to borrow from the French or other catholic nations (1) ; and the court of Rome at the present day, so far from requiring the orthodox Greeks, who have colleges there, to conform to her ritual in these unessential points, obliges them to adhere to their own.—V. It appears that the mass was sometimes, in former ages, said by the Irish clergy at night.—So it was, in the same ages and on the same occasions, namely, on the eves of certain great festivals, by the clergy of every other catholic country. It is still said by us at midnight on Christmas night. In the mean time, we learn from Bede, that nine of the clock in the morning was the usual time of saying it (2).—VI. Bede and Cogitosus speak of “the sacrament of the Lord’s body and blood :” whence it appears that the sacrament was in ancient times administered in both kinds.—I answer, that the Catholics use the same language at the present day, though the laity receive the sacrament only under one kind ; that the difference of receiving it under one or under both kinds, is a mere point of discipline, which may be, and

(1) Hist. Eccl. l. i. c. 27.

(2) Hora tertia. Hist. Eccl. l. iv. c. 22.

has been, changed as the circumstances of time and place required ; and that, nevertheless, the present practice of the Church, in communicating the laity under the form of bread alone, was the practice of our infant English church, as appears from Bede himself(1). In the mean time, we are to observe that this illustrious doctor of the English church, at the beginning of the ninth century, expressly teaches, not only that the mass is a true sacrifice, in which Christ is truly and really present, but also that a true and proper change or TRANSUBSTANTIATION of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ takes place in it. I will transcribe his words in the margin, and I defy the subtilty of the most ingenious controvertist of your acquaintance, to give them any other meaning than that which I have assigned(2).—

(1) See the History of the Sons of Sabereth, l. ii. c. 5.

(2) “ Lavat nos (Christus) a peccatis nostris quotidie in sanguine suo, cum ejusdem beatæ passionis memoria ad altare replicatur, cum panis et vini creatura in sacramentum carnis et sanguinis ejus, ineffabili spiritus sanctificatione TRANSFERTUR: sicque corpus et sanguis illius non infidelium manibus ad perniciem ipsorum funditur et occiditur, sed fidelium ore, suam sumitur ad salutem.” Bed. Hom. in Epiph. tom. 7.—As the doctrine of the eastern church is particularly implicated in the present controversy, I shall select, from among scores of other testimonies relating to it, a passage from the catechetical discourses of a holy father who was bishop of the primitive church of Jerusalem in the fourth century ; “ The bread and wine of the eucharist, before the invocation of the adorable Trinity, were mere bread and wine ; but that invocation having taken place, the bread becomes the body of Christ, and the wine becomes the blood of Christ. Since, then, Christ thus de-

VII. Archbishop Lanfranc complains, that the Irish neglected the use of chrism in baptism, or did not make use of it in a proper manner, and that a single bishop amongst them was accustomed to consecrate another bishop, without the presence of two others, as the Council of Nice requires.—But what trifling, Sir, is this ! For since it is evident that Lanfranc did not, on this account, deny the validity of the Irish baptisms and orders, and since both Catholics and Protestants are agreed that chrism is not essential to baptism, nor the presence of three bishops to consecration, it is plain that the diversity in question neither was, nor was considered to be, a sufficient ground for the rest of the Church to break off communion with the prelates of this island.

—VIII. In order to prove that the clergy were permitted in ancient times to marry, and that therefore the Church then was upon a different footing from what it is now, Archbishop Usher mentions that St. Patrick was the son of the deacon Calphurnius, who himself was the son of the priest Potitus.—I answer, that if the learned primate had acted fairly by his readers, he would have informed them that the same au-

“ clares concerning the bread ; THIS IS MY BODY, who can
 “ doubt any longer ? And since he confirms what he said, and de-
 “ clares, THIS IS MY BLOOD, who will dare to hesitate, and
 “ affirm that it is not his blood ?” He once changed water into wine,
 “ which resembles blood, at Cana in Galilee : and is he not worthy
 “ to be believed, when he says that he changes wine into blood ?”
 &c. St. Cyril of Jerusal. Catech. Mystagog. i. See also the Liturgy
 of St. Basil, and of St. Chrys. in Le Brun, &c.

thor who mentions these particulars concerning St. Patrick's family, expressly tells us that the children of Calphurnius and Potitus were born *previously to their father's ordination* (1).

To prevent being obliged to return again to the same subject, I shall take notice here of some of the extravagant assertions of Dr. Ledwich on the subject of clerical and monastic celibacy. He asserts, that the ancient Irish ascetics, called Culdees, were married (2); and he appeals to an authority in support of his assertion. But what, Sir, do you think, is this authority? It is the *bare word* of the profligate and deistical writer of the *last century*, Toland! Such is the "enlightened criticism" of this vaunting antiquary of Ireland! To be sure, a monastery of 3000 monks, as was that of Benchor under St. Comgall (3), with each one a wife and family, was admirably calculated for the observance of those austere rules of obedience, silence, abstemiousness, poverty, &c. which Dr. Ledwich admits them to have practised; having borrowed them, he tells us, not from the Christian *monks* of Egypt, but from the more ancient *heathen priests* of Egypt! So desirous is he of making a

(1) "Postquam vero aliquantulum processerant in diebus suis
 "(*Parentes S. Patricii*) fœlici generatione completâ, communi
 "consensu, castitati studuerunt, et sancto fine in Domino quie-
 "verunt. Calphurnius autem prius in Diaconatu diutius Domino
 "servivit, postremo in Presbyteratu vitam finivit." Jocelinus Vit.
 S. Patric. c. i.

(2) Antiq. p. III.

(3) Ibid. p. 90.

confused medley of Christianity and paganism (1)! Three thousand monks in a monastery with their wives and families! How far will the impositions of some men go, and the credulity of others! He says, however, that “when it came to their turn to officiate they did not cohabit with their wives; as by the 28th canon of the African code, subdeacons, who handle the holy mysteries, deacons, priests, and bishops are directed, at their several terms, to abstain from their wives: a practice derived from Egypt to the Jews, and from them adopted by the Christians. Celibacy was unknown for the first three hundred years of the Church (2).” What a mass of misrepresentation and falsehood is here heaped together!—In the first place, by Ledwich’s own account, the monks in general, and the Culdees in particular, “had no office in the Church; even the abbots had not priesthood till the 12th century (3).” St. Columba is mentioned as an exception to this rule. Hence their “turn to officiate,” according to this author himself, never came round.” 2dly, The antiquary most shamefully imposes upon the reader, in what he pretends to quote from the 28th canon of the African code. The canon here mentioned has no relation whatever with the matter in question. In the 25th canon, however, of that code, it is thus decreed: “In

(1) *Antiq.* p. 90.(2) *Ibid.* pp. 111, 112.(3) *Ibid.*

“ conformity with what had been established in
 “ former councils, it is our order, that subdea-
 “ cons, deacons, priests, and bishops, shall ab-
 “ stain from their wives, and be as if they had
 “ none; and if they act otherwise, they shall be
 “ removed from their office (1).” In the coun-
 cil of Nice, held in 325 (2), the council of
 Arles, held in 314 (3), and in other councils, it
 was forbidden to bishops, priests, and deacons,
 to have any woman at all in their houses, except
 a mother, a sister, or some very near relation.
 3dly, The writer equally imposes upon those who
 trust to him, in what he says about the deriva-
 tion of clerical continency from pagan priests.
 If those illustrious prelates who framed the
 African code, Aurelius, St. Augustine, St. Aly-
 pius, &c. to whose authority he has just now ap-
 pealed, are to be believed, this observance is de-
 rived from *the apostles* (4). Nor does he less aim

(1) “ Placuit, quod in diversis conciliis firmatum est, ut sub-
 “ diaconi qui sacra mysteria contrectant et diaconi et presbyteri, sed
 “ et episcopi, secundum priora statuta, etiam ab uxoribus se conti-
 “ neant, ut tanquam non habentes videantur esse; quod nisi fecerint
 “ ab ecclesiastico removeantur officio.” Integer Codex Canonum
 Ecc. Afric. Can. 25. Concil. Labbe, tom. ii. p. 1061.

(2) Nicen. Can. 2.

(3) 2 Arelat. Can. 3.

(4) “ Cum præterito concilio de continentia et castitatis mo-
 “ deramine tractaretur, gradus isti tres qui constrictione quadam
 “ castitatis per consecrationes adnexi sunt, *episcopos, presbyteros,*
 “ et *diaconos*, ita complacuit, ut condecet sacros antistites ac Dei
 “ sacerdotes, nec non et levitas, vel qui sacramentis divinis in ser-

at deceiving, when he asserts, that “celibacy
 “was unknown for the first 300 years of the
 “Church.” For does not St. Paul teach that,
 though *he that giveth his virgin in marriage does
 well*, yet that *he who giveth her not does bet-
 ter* (1). Does he not intimate that he himself
 was unmarried? Is there a single father of the
 Church, from the first to the last of them, who
 has not written in commendation of virginity
 (2)? St. Jerome, who flourished in the fourth
 age, testifies that it was the established rule in
 the great patriarchates of Antioch, Alexandria,
 and Rome, that is to say, generally speaking, in
 Asia, Africa, and Europe, to admit no persons
 into their clergy, but those who either never had
 been married, or who had renounced the married
 state (3). With respect to our English church

“vient, continentes esse in omnibus, quo possint simpliciter quod a
 “Domino postulant impetrare; ut *quod apostoli docuerunt*, et ipsa
 “servavit antiquitas nos quoque custodiamus.” Codex Afric. Can. 3.
 Labbe, t. ii. p. 1052.

(1) 1 Cor. vii. 38.

(2) I shall satisfy myself with here mentioning, that the illustrious
 doctor and martyr St. Cyprian, in the 3d century, wrote a whole
 book, as several later fathers wrote others, in commendation of
 virginity. In the same century, the great Origen declares thus:
 “Videtur mihi quod illius est solius offerre sacrificium indesinens,
 “qui indesinenti et perpetuæ se voverit castitati.” Hom. 23. in
 Num.

(3) “Quid facient orientis ecclesiæ, quid Ægypti et Sedis Apostoli-
 “cæ, quæ aut virgines clerics accipiunt aut continentes; aut si uxores
 “habuerint mariti esse desistunt.” St. Hieron. Epist. adversus Vi-
 gilant.—St. Epiphanius delivers much the same testimony. Expos.
 Fid. Cath.

at the end of the sixth century, we gather from St. Gregory's permission for the clerks in minor orders to take wives (1), that this was unlawful for the clergy in holy orders, namely, for bishops, priests, and deacons, agreeably to the well known rule of reasoning (2); and we are justified in inferring the same with respect to the Irish clergy in St. Patrick's time, from the canons in his councils and other authorities (3).

(1) " Si qui sunt clerici EXTRA SACROS ORDINES constituti, qui se continere non possunt, sortiri uxores debent et stipendia sua exterius accipere." Resp. i. St. Greg. St. Aug. Bed. Hist. Ecc. l. i. c. 27.

(2) " Exceptio confirmat regulam."

(3) " De Tribus seminibus Evangeliorum, centesimum episcopi et doctores qui omnibus omnia sunt; sexagesimum clerici et viduæ quæ continententes sunt, trigessimum laici qui fideles sunt, qui perfecte Trinitatem credunt. His amplius non est in messe Domini, Monachos vero et virgines, cum centesimis jungimus." Synodus alia S. Patricii, cap. xviii. apud Spelman, p. 58.—In his former synod, at which his disciples Auxilius and Iserminus were present, and which is held to be genuine by all the most able critics, our saint decides as follows: " Monachus et virgo, unus ab hinc et alia ab aliunde, in uno hospitio non commaneant; nec in uno curru a villa in villam discurrant, nec assidue invicem confabulationem exerceant." Can. ix. Spelman, p. 52.—" Virgo quæ voverit Deo, permaneant casta, et postea nupserit carnalem sponsum, excommunicationis sit, donec convertatur: si conversa fuerit et dimiserit adulterium, pœnitentiam agat, et postea non in una domo nec in una villa habitent." Can. xvii.—In case our antiquary chooses to descend from St. Patrick to his disciples, he will find St. Fintenus, the friend of the great Columba, celebrated by Adamnan, (whose authority he admits.) " Quod a puerili ætate integram carnis et animæ, Deo juvante custodierit," Vit. S. Columbæ, c. ii.; and he will find St. Columba himself, the father and patron of the Culdees, extolled as " Virgo immaculatus ab omni labe integer," l. ii. c. 18.

But I fear I have tired you with the length of this polemical letter, which, however, I could not shorten, in justice to the important points of antiquarian research of which it treats. For the present, then,

I remain, &c.



LETTER XVI.

Cashel, July 25, 1807.

DEAR SIR

HAVING undertaken so desperate a cause, as that of proving the religion of St. Patrick and his converts not to have been the Catholic, no wonder Archbishop Usher, with all his talents, should have failed in it; no wonder his adversary F. Malone, having the works of the fathers at his elbow, should have gained so decided a victory over him, and that the perusal of their respective writings should have determined the Archbishop's descendant, the Rev. James Usher, to become a Catholic, as I have related in one of my first letters to you. Soon after this controversy, it became the fashion with protestant disputants, following in this the famous Chillingworth, to make light of the ancient doctors and councils of the Church, and to appeal to the scriptures alone in every religious controversy; or rather, as the fact is, to that meaning which every man chooses to put upon the scriptures. The most important, however, of Usher's objections, remains to be examined: he denies that St. Patrick and his disciples acknowledged the Pope's spiritual supremacy. If

this be true, undoubtedly their religion was not Catholic; for it is their union with the successor of St. Peter, as their visible head here upon earth, which does keep, and ever has kept the members of the great *Catholic* or *Universal* Church, spread as it is all over the Universe, in one faith and one communion.

Let us now see how far this objection is conformable or opposite to historical documents. I shall refer to the Primate himself in his learned works, called *De Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Primordiis*, and his *Index Chronologicus*, when I can do so; because it may save me some little trouble, and because nothing is more satisfactory than an adversary's own confession. In a word, I mean to convict Archbishop Usher, *the Controvertist*, upon the evidence of Archbishop Usher, *the Antiquary*. The following facts then are admitted and distinctly stated by him, together with the authorities on which they rest, relative to the connection which subsisted in ancient times between the churches of these islands and the See of Rome.

In the year of Christ 176 Lucius, a British prince, being desirous of becoming a Christian, sent messengers to Pope Eleutherius, for this purpose, who dispatched two holy doctors, Faganus and Duvianus, by whom he and great part of the Britons were instructed and baptized (1).

(1) See *Ind. Chronol.* and the passages there referred to in the *Primord* —Wherever I quote from another author, I mention his name.

In 314 the British Bishops of London, York, and Colchester were present with other bishops from different provinces at the Council of Arles, in which, among other things, the uniform observance of Easter throughout Christendom was decreed, as likewise that the Roman Pontiff should each year give notice to the rest of the bishops of the day on which it was to be kept.—In 325 the General Council of Nice was held, in which the prerogatives of the Holy See were recognized; as they were more fully at the Council of Sardica in 347. At both councils certain British bishops were present.—In 372 St. Ninian, a British bishop, but one who had been instructed in the Christian religion at Rome, converted the Picts in Cumberland, Galloway, &c. (1).—In 397 St. Albeus, an Irishman by birth, was consecrated bishop by the Pope, and afterwards returned into Ireland.—In 402 two other Irishmen, SS. Declan and Kieran, after studying at Rome, were consecrated bishops by the Pope, and sent to preach the gospel in their own country (2).—The same account is given of St. Ibarus, another celebrated Irish bishop. He was sent from Rome to Ireland in the year 420 (3).—In 431 Palladius, a deacon of the Roman Church, was consecrated by Pope Celestine bishop of the Scots, and sent by him to the Scots of

(1) Usher cites the words of Bede, Hist. l. iii. c. 4. "Nynias, qui erat *Romæ* regulariter fidem et mysteria veritatis edoctus."

(2) Primord. p. 661. ed. 1639.

(3) Ibid. p. 800.

Ireland ; but, being discouraged by the opposition he there met with, he passed over to the British Scots in the Highlands, and is acknowledged as their apostle.—In 432 St. Patrick, after residing long at Rome, and learning his religion there (1), is sent to preach the gospel in Ireland by the above-mentioned Pope Celestine.—In 434 Secundinus, Auxilius, and Isernus are ordained bishops, and sent from Rome to the assistance of St. Patrick.—In 462 St. Patrick goes to Rome, to give an account of his mission in Ireland, and to obtain from Pope Hilarius a confirmation of what he had settled there.—About the latter end of the fifth century, it was the custom of the Irish to go in crowds to Rome upon pilgrimages of devotion (2). In 540 St. Finian of Clonard, the master of so many eminent Irish scholars, was consecrated bishop at Rome. In 580 SS. Columbanus and Gallus pass over to the continent, where they are received by the bishops and princes of France and Italy as illustrious and orthodox doctors of the Catholic faith.—In 594 Pope Gregory the Great writes different letters to the bishops of Ireland, in answer to questions which they had proposed to him concerning baptism, the Nestorian errors, and other matters. In these he writes in the style of a

(1) "Patricius Romanis disciplinis eruditus." Girald. Camb. cited by Usher.

(2) Gerald. Camb. in Vita S. David, quoted by Usher.

superior to his inferiors (1). In 597 Pope Gregory sends St. Augustine, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and other monks from Rome, to convert our pagan ancestors, the English Saxons. He soon after gives him *full authority over all the bishops in the British islands* (2).—In the year 609, St. Augustine's successor in the See of Canterbury, St. Laurence, exercises this authority by writing separately to the Irish and Welsh bishops, exhorting them to conform to the rest of the Church in the observance of Easter (3).—In 628 the southern Irish are reclaimed from their erroneous practice by Pope Honorius.—In 630 a deputation of learned and holy men were sent by the bishops of Ireland to “the fountain of their baptism, like children to their mother (4),” to confer with the Apostolic See concerning the observance of Easter, and other matters. Amongst these was St. Lasrean, who was consecrated bishop by Pope Honorius, and appointed his *legate in Ireland* (5).—In 636 St. Birinus was sent by Pope Honorius to convert the pagan West Saxons and Mercians.—In 640 Tomianus,

(1) Vide Epistolas S. Greg. l. ii. ep. 36, et l. ix. ep. 61.

(2) “*Britanniarum omnes episcopos tuæ fraternitati committimus, ut indocti doceantur, infirmi persuasione roberentur, perversi auctoritate corrigantur.*” Bede Hist. l. i. c. 27.

(3) Ibid. l. ii. c. 4.

(4) See Usher, also Epist. Cummiæni in Sylog. and an abstract of it in Ware's Writers of Ireland. Art. *Cummienus*.

(5) This is expressly stated by Usher, Primord. p. 938.

Archbishop of Armagh and other Irish prelates, still anxious about the right observance of Easter, write to consult Pope Severinus, and receive an answer to their letter from his successor Pope John.—In 648 St. Foillan, an Irish ecclesiastic, goes to receive episcopal consecration from Pope Martin, with authority to preach the faith amongst infidels. In 686 St. Killian, an Irish bishop, goes to Rome on the same errand.—About this time, and during a long time after, England continued to be supplied with bishops and learned doctors from Ireland, who differed in nothing from the Roman missionaries, except as to the time of keeping Easter, and the form of their clerical tonsures.—In 680 St. Wilfrid, Archbishop of York, assisted at the first great Lateran Council of 125 bishops under Pope Agatho, in which he bore testimony to the orthodoxy of the Churches of Ireland, as well as of Britain(1). —In the eighth and ninth centuries the Irish continued to flock to the continent more than ever (2), where they were received, not only as brethren, but also as masters, by the most zealous partizans of the See of Rome, such as St. Boniface, Archbishop of Mentz, and Pepin, King of France. One of these, St. Virgil, Bishop of

(1) "Wilfridus pro omni aquilonari parte Britanniae et Hyberniae, insulis, quæ ab Anglorum et Britonum, nec non Scotorum et Pictorum gentibus incoluntur veram et Catholicam fidem confessus est, et conscriptione suâ corroboravit." Bede Hist. l. v. c. 20.

(2) This appears by the testimony of Erric of Auxerre, quoted above in my second letter.

Salsburg, who died in 784, having, at different times, certain controversies with his metropolitan, the above-mentioned St. Boniface, the decision of them was, in every instance, referred to the Pope (1).—At the beginning of the ninth century, Dungal, an Irish doctor, wrote a book, which he dedicated to the Emperor Lotharius, in defence of the cross and pious images, against the innovator Claude, Bishop of Turin (2); and at the end of this century, those three hardy scholars mentioned in a former letter came over from Ireland, to the pious and learned King Alfred, in a boat made of *two bullocks hides and a half*. Their business, after staying some time with Alfred, was to perform a journey of devotion to Rome (3).—At this time, it was the practice for metropolitans to take an oath of canonical obedience to the Pope, as it was the practice of other bishops to take such an oath to them (4). Hence, as the Archbishop of Canterbury, ever since the commission of St. Gregory the Great to St. Augustine, had legatine jurisdiction in Ireland, so we find the Irish prelates taking such an oath to the English primates in the eleventh century (5).—I now meet with another anecdote

(1) Ware's Descript. &c.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Chron. Sax. Ethelward.

(4) Vide De Marca Concordan. Sacerd. et Imper. Thomassin, de Discip. Van Espen. Jus. Canon, &c.

(5) See one of these made by Patrick, the other by Donatus, successively Archbishops of Dublin, to Lanfranc, Archbishop of

to my purpose" in Usher's own lucubrations.— In 1096 the people of Waterford, being desirous of having a bishop for that flourishing city, applied for this purpose to St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, being the *Legatus Natus*, as canonists express it, of all the British islands (1). The same primate understanding that Samuel, Archbishop of Dublin, caused the cross to be borne before him, in the same manner as if he had been possessed of legatine jurisdiction, reprehended him in the terms which are to be seen below (2).

The inconvenience of a whole national Church being subject to a foreign legate of the Holy See was deeply felt in Ireland. Accordingly in 1130, the Irish succeeded in getting Gilbert, Bishop of Limerick, a pious and learned man, appointed by the Pope his special legate for Ireland (3). He was succeeded in this office by the celebrated St. Malachy, Archbishop of Armagh (4), the

Canterbury, *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i. p. 80. The following is an extract from the former. "Ego Patricius ad regendam Dublinam, Metropolem Hiberniæ, electus, tibi Rev. Pater Lanfrance *Britanniarum Primus*, et S. Dorobernensis Ecclesiæ Archiepiscopo, professionis meæ chartam porrigo; meque tibi, tuisque successoribus in omnibus quæ ad Christianam religionem pertinent obtemperaturum esse promitto."

(1) Index Chron. ad dictum Ann et Primord. See also Eadmer. Hist. Novorum, c. 36.

(2) "Præterea audiivi quia facis portare crucem ante te in via. Quod si verum est, mando tibi ne amplius hoc facias: quia non pertinet nisi ad Archiepiscopum à Romano Pontifice pallio confirmatum." Epist. Anselm, l. iii. ep. 72. l. iv. ep. 27.

(3) Usher Ind. ad dict. Ann et Primord.

(4) S. Bernard de Vita S. Malach. c. x

friend of the great St. Bernard, who was the light and ornament of the 12th century (1). It is particularly recorded of St. Malachy, that he regulated all ecclesiastical affairs "according to the apostolical sanctions, the decrees of the fathers, and the customs of the Holy Roman Church (2)." One of his most important regulations, in quality of legate, was the establishment of a new metropolitical see, which seems to have been that of Tuam. Being anxious to have his acts confirmed by the apostolic see, and also to obtain the important privilege of the Pallium for his own see and this new creation, by means of which they would be graced with an inherent and permanent authority and dignity (3), he went to Rome about the year 1140, where he easily obtained whatever else he asked for, but was told

(1) It may not be improper to shew what were the sentiments of this illustrious doctor (whose merit is acknowledged by Luther himself) concerning the general spiritual supremacy of the Pope, as these undoubtedly were in unison with the doctrine of the Church in general. Writing to Pope Eugenius III. he says: "Tu es cui Claves traditæ, cui oves crediæ sunt. Sunt quidem et alii cœli janitores, et gregum pastores; sed tu tanto gloriosius quanto et differentius utrumque pro cæteris nomen hæreditasti. Habent illi sibi assignatos greges, singuli singulos: tibi universi crediti, uni unus; nec modo ovium sed et Pastorum; tu unus omnium Pastor." S. Bernard. *De Consideratione Ad Eugen. P. lib. ii. c. 6.*

(2) Bern. in Vit. Mal. c. iii.

(3) "Visum sibi (Malachæ) non tutê satis actitari ista absque sedis Apostolicæ auctoritate; et Romam proficisci deliberat: maxime quod Metropoliticæ sedi deerat adhuc, et defuerat, ab initio pallii usus, quod est plenitudo honoris." S. Bern. *Vita Mal. c. xv.*

that the use of the Pallium was an affair which demanded mature consideration (1), as involving the rights not only of the other Irish sees, but also those of the see of Canterbury. At length, in the year 1151, the Cardinal John Papario was sent by Pope Eugenius III. as every one has heard, to convey four palls to the four archiepiscopal sees of Ireland: by which act artful controvertists have represented, and ignorant readers have believed, that the Church of Ireland became, for the first time, subject to the see of Rome; whereas, in fact, it was barely an exemption of it from the legatine jurisdiction of the see of Canterbury, and the assumption of it into the *immediate* protection of the Apostolic See. This was considered, at the time when it took place, not as a subjection, but an emancipation.

Here, Sir, is a chain of facts, the greater part of them being recorded by Usher himself, which carry up the acknowledgement of the Pope's spiritual supremacy in Ireland from the middle of the 12th century (the pretended æra of its commencement) clearly up to the first prelates of Ireland at the end of the fourth century. I could strengthen this chain by adding many collateral links to it, if it were not already sufficiently strong; I shall, therefore, satisfy myself

(1) "Et confirmationis quidem privilegium (Malachias) mox acceptum: de paliis autem, ait Summus Pontifex, oportet solemniter agi." Ibid. c. xvi.

with calling your attention to two observations on the facts I have stated. First, supposing the object of Cardinal Papario's embassy in 1151, had been to enslave the Church of Ireland to the see of Rome, as fraudulent or superficial theologues represent, is it not rational to suppose that some of the Irish prelates, princes, or people, would have opposed the measure? We know how long and how stoutly their predecessors resisted the arguments and authority of different Popes, who wished to make them conform to the right time of keeping Easter. Yet there was no opposition to the reception of the palls brought by the above-named Cardinal, nor were any murmurs heard on the occasion, except a few in England, from the partizans of the see of Canterbury (1), which then lost a jewel from its metropolitanical mitre. The papal legate, Cardinal Papario, appears to have been as well received in Ireland, as the former legates, St. Malachy, Gilbert, and St. Lasrean had been. In the second place, Sir, you will be pleased to pay attention to the number of learned and devout Irish scholars, who, during the several ages in question, spread themselves over our island, and the whole continent of Europe, not excepting Italy itself, as I have shewn in one of my former letters. Now can it be supposed, that these would have been hospitably received, and placed at the head of monasteries and colleges, as they generally

(1) See Roger Hoveden, cited below.

were, if they had differed from the great body of Christians in any essential point, particularly in the leading one regarding the Pope's supremacy? Common sense revolts at the idea. But, says Dr. Ledwich, who on this point makes common cause with Usher : we have proofs that one of the most celebrated Irish scholars and saints of his age, the abbot Columbanus, "charged Pope Boniface III. with heresy, and suspected his Church to be in error. — In another letter he entreated to be permitted to retain his national customs. — But clerical resentment is not soon appeased : our missionary was expelled his abbey : after which he returned to Bobbio, in Italy, and erected a monastery there (1)." In this account Dr. Ledwich imposes numerous and gross errors upon the public. The fact is, St. Columbanus, being shut up in his monastic solitude, had been totally misinformed concerning the famous question of the Three Chapters, and of the second Council of Constantinople, in which this question had been decided ; as likewise concerning the conduct of the deceased Pope Vigilius, who, he had been led to believe, encouraged Nestorianism. Hence he exhorted the reigning Pope to clear himself and his see from these imputations, by a clear exposition of his faith—an advice perfectly consistent with the submission due from an inferior to his superior. So far, however, from breaking communion with the

(1) Antiq. p. 352.

Church of Rome, or accusing it of heresy, this holy solitary expressly declared, in the very letter referred to, that "there is no other faith " but that of the Roman Church; that this " Church never espoused the cause of any heretic; " and that he himself continues indivisibly attached " to the Chair of St. Peter (1)." Other less important errors, which Dr. Ledwich is guilty of in the above quoted passage, are the following.—The letter was not addressed to Boniface III. but to Boniface IV. (2).—It was not in this, but in a former letter to the Pope, that Columban *requested* to be left to his national observance of Easter: a singular petition this, from a pious abbot to an heretical prelate, with whom he is supposed to break off communion! This letter in question was not written from Luxieu in Burgundy, but from Bobbio, in Italy (3). St. Columban was not expelled from Luxieu, in consequence of the freedom of his letter to the Pope, or of any other kind of "clerical resentment(4);" but in consequence of the resentment of a libidinous King, Theodoric, and an ambitious Princess, Brunehault, whose crimes he was obliged to reprove (5).

(1) Bibliotheca Patrum, tom. xii.

(2) Dom. Cellier. Hist. des Auteurs Sacr. tom. xvii. p. 489.

(3) Ibid.

(4) I hope the Rev. Dr. L. will not manifest any of this "clerical " resentment," at the present exposure of his numerous and gross errors.

(5) Mabillon Annal. Bened. t. ii.

Our present antiquary, on various occasions, shews the greatest earnestness to derive the religion of his native island, from oriental, rather than from Roman missionaries. But if he had any proofs, or plausible arguments, which he has not, that the facts were as he wished it to be, this would not help his cause: in as much as the Greek and the Latin churches professed and maintained an unity of faith and ecclesiastical government (the most essential part of which was the spiritual supremacy of the See of Rome) during all the ages in question; namely, from the beginning of the Church, down to the great oriental schism, in the year 866. Hence the most illustrious oriental prelates and patriarchs, as St. Athanasius of Alexandria, SS. Chrysostom, Flavian, and Ignatius of Constantinople, &c. appealed to the Bishop of Rome for the time being, as to the acknowledged head of the Univeral Church, against the injuries they received from other prelates, in conformity with the canons of the General Council of Sardica referred to above (1); and, by so doing, they met with the redress they sought for. What man of learning can now look, without indignation, upon the following passage of Dr. Ledwich's book, in which, endeavouring to prove a religious conformity, in the second century, between the churches of these islands and those of Asia, and their common opposition to that of Rome, he writes thus concerning St.

(1) Can. iii. and Can. viii.

Irenæus, who was a Greek by birth, and had conversed with St. Polycarp, the disciple of St. John the Evangelist, but who then was Bishop of Lyons in France: "Irenæus, in the second century, loudly complains of Roman innovations, *that the schismatics at Rome had corrupted the sincere law of the Church*, which led to the greatest impieties. These opinions," adds he, "the Presbyters who lived before our times, who were also the disciples of the apostles, did in no wise deliver. I who saw and heard the blessed Polycarp, am able to protest in the presence of God, that if that apostolic presbyter had heard these things, he would have stopped his ears, and cried out, according to his custom: Good God! for what times hast thou reserved me, that I should suffer such things. He would have fled from the place where he was sitting or standing, should he have heard these things (1)."

To say nothing of the alterations and mutilations (2), which Dr. Ledwich is guilty of in translating this passage from the Greek, I affirm that he here *knowingly* and *deliberately* imposes upon the public, in a point of the utmost importance. For he saw plainly that what Eusebius quotes from the work of St. Irenæus, now lost, does not

(1.) Antiq. p. 56, and in Index.

(2) Amongst other omissions Dr. L. suppresses the circumstance that Florinus, the innovator in question, was himself an Asiatic priest.

regard the Church of Rome itself, but certain schismatics called Blastus and Florinus, who were cut off from its communion, and degraded from the priestly office (1), on account of their errors. The former taught, amongst other errors, that of the Quartodecimans concerning the time of keeping Easter(2), which error Dr. Ledwich so frequently preconizes; the latter was a Valentinian heretic, and a precursor of Manes, in denying that God created whatever evil there is found in the world (3). It was against the latter innovator, that St. Irenæus exerted himself with so much force, reminding him of the time, when they were joint hearers of the holy Bishop of Smyrna, St. Polycarp, and affirming that if the master of the latter, St. John the Evangelist, were alive, and heard such doctrines as Florinus taught, he would express his indignation against them in the terms above quoted (4). As to the Church itself of Rome, so far from representing it as schismatical, St. Irenæus, as Eusebius himself testifies, openly exhibits it as the *standard of truth*, and the *depository of apostolical traditions*; enumerating for that purpose, the succession of its bishops, from St. Peter down to

(1) Φλαβῖνος πρεσβυτέρου τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀποτέσθην. Euseb. Eccl. Hist. l. v. c. 15. Tertul. Præscrip. c. 53.

(2) Tertul. Præscrip. c. 53.

(3) Euseb. Eccl. Hist. l. v. c. 27.

(4) Ibid.

his contemporary Pope, St. Eleutherius (1), the same who sent missionaries for the conversion of Lucius and his British subjects (2). The passage quoted by Eusebius, and here referred to, is taken from a work of St. Irenæus still in existence (3), in which this celebrated Greek doctor, the ornament of the second century, says many things still more energetic (4), in defence of tradition, of the authority of the Church and of the apostolic See. It is possible Dr. Ledwich may not have seen this well-known work of St. Irenæus, but he must have been perfectly conscious he was shamefully misrepresenting this father's meaning, in the passage which he quoted from Eusebius, because he had this under his eye when he wrote.

With respect to the bestowing of palls by Cardinal Papario in the name of Pope Eugenius III. A. D. 1151, upon which Dr. Ledwich and other writers so much harp, it was not, in fact, nor was it considered as any subjection of the Church of Ireland to that of Rome. On the contrary, it was a dignity and an immunity from foreign

(1) Τῇ αὐτῇ τάξει (τῶν ἐπὶ ῥώμης ἐπισκοπεσάντων) καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ διδάχῃ, ἣ τὲ ἀπο τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παράδοσις, καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας κρύμμα κατήντησεν εἰς ἡμᾶς. Ibid. c. vi.

(2) Bede Eccl. Hist. l. i. c. 4, &c.

(3) Contra Hæres.

(4) "Adhanc ecclesiam (Romanam) PROPTER POTIOREM
"PRINCIPALITATEM necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam,"
&c. Contra Hæres. l. iii. c. 3.

jurisdiction conferred upon it; in as much as the Archbishop of Canterbury, for the time being, had claimed a legatine jurisdiction over Ireland, ever since the time of St. Augustine(1), by virtue of the authority "over all the Britains(2)," conferred upon him and his successors by St. Gregory. Accordingly the Irish prelates, and St. Malachy in particular, as I have shewn, had earnestly solicited the court of Rome, to send palls to the Church of Ireland, in proof of her immediate dependance on the See Apostolic.

I come now to consider the system which is peculiar to Dr. Ledwich on the present subject. In fact it is such as never did enter, and is never likely to enter, into the conception of any other man of letters whomsoever. Having vainly attempted to give an Asiatic origin to the Christianity of Ireland, totally unconnected with, and in direct opposition to the Christianity which prevailed at Rome, in England, and other places; he endeavours to shew a continuation of this newly discovered religion down to the 12th

(1) Bede says of St. Laurence, successor of St. Augustine of Canterbury: "Non solum novæ, quæ de Anglis erat collecta, ecclesiæ curam gerebat, sed et veterum Britanniarum incolarum, necnon et Scotorum, qui Hiberniam incolunt, populis, pastorem impendere solitudinem curabat," l. ii. c. 2. Hence when the four palls were granted to the Irish metropolitans, Roger Hoveden complains thus: "Hoc factum est contra antiquam consuetudinem et dignitatem Cantuariensis ecclesiæ." Hoveden ad an. 1151.

(2) "Britanniarum omnes episcopos tuæ fraternitati committimus." Bed. l. i. c. 27. By *Britannia*, in the Plural, Polybius and Ptolemy understand both the sister islands.

century (1), amongst an order of pious monks, called Culdees. He tells us, that their founder St. Columba (2) was a quartodeciman (3); that "they did not adopt the corruptions of the "Anglo-Saxon church, or the superstitions "which contaminated Christianity (4);" that "they adhered to the ancient faith, and abhorred "Roman innovations (5);" that "Cumman, a "Culdee, apostatized and listened to Roman "emissaries (6);" that "at length Adamnan, the "Culdean abbot of Hy, likewise apostatized (7)." These are the few, among the many glaring errors, which this "cultivator and destroyer of anti-
"quity," as I have elsewhere called him, has fallen into in speaking of the Culdees.

In the first place, these *Colidei*, or *worshippers of God*, were not a distinct order of monks founded by St. Columba, and confined to the island of Hy; but this was a general name for all the ancient Scotch and Irish monks, or rather canons regular, as we are assured by unquestionable authority (8).—2dly, St. Columba and his monks of Hy, were not quartodecimans,

(1) Antiq. p. 96. (2) Ibid. p. 103. (3) Ibid. p. 107.

(4) P. ibid. (5) P. 100. (6) P. 108.

(7) P. 111.

(8) Giraldus calls them "Cælibes, quos Cælicolas vel Coli-
"deos vocant." Topograph. Hib. dist. ii. c. 4. Hector Boetius, lib. vi. Hist. Scot. says, that the name became so common, that priests in general, almost down to his own time, were called "Culdei," that is to say, "Cultores Dei."

if Bede, who knew them so well, may be credited in what he affirms concerning them (1).—3dly, The Culdees had no other faith, or ecclesiastical discipline, except as to the mode of computing the festivals of Easter, than the English church, and all the other churches of the same ages had. For does Dr. Ledwich himself believe, that, if they had denied the real presence of Christ in the blessed Eucharist, or the utility of praying for the dead, or of desiring the prayers of the saints, or the Pope's supremacy, or had even rejected the use of pious pictures in their churches, or of holy water, and such like things, which we are sure the English Saxons adopted, they would have been invited to join with the Roman missionaries, in forming our infant church, in educating its youth, and in governing it in quality of bishops? Would their virtues have been so highly extolled by Bede, and the Catholic hagiographers in general, as they are, and would the names of their saints be inscribed upon the churches, and in the martyrologies of Rome, and of all the Catholics of Christendom?—4thly, It is evident, that what Dr. Ledwich writes concerning the *ancient religion* and *Roman innovations*, ought to be inverted: for nothing is more certain, than

(1) "Quem tamen (Diem Paschæ) non semper in luna quarta-decima, cum Judæis, ut quidam rebantur, sed in die quidem Dominica, alia tamen quam decebat hebdomada, celebrabant." Eccles. Hist. l. iii. c. 4.

that the *ancient* British prelates originally followed the practice of Rome and the other churches, with respect to the time of keeping Easter, as well as in other particulars; and that the error which they and the Irish prelates fell into upon this point was an innovation, comparatively of a late date. Of this we have positive proofs: for the chief bishops of the British church were present at, and subscribed to the Council of Arles, as I observed to you before; the very first canon of which appoints the time of Easter to be kept on the same day throughout the world, and that the Pope should give general notice of that day (1).

This canon was confirmed in the œcumenical council of Nice, and the Emperor Constantine wrote a circular letter to all the churches of the christian world, informing them of what had been decreed in that particular, and exhorting the several bishops to subscribe to it (2). In this letter he testifies, that our British provinces were amongst those which agreed, as to the time of celebrating Easter, with Rome and the remainder of the West, as also with the South, the North,

(1) "Breviarium Epistolæ Domino Sanctissimo Fratri Silvestro
 "Marinus vel Cœtus Episcoporum qui adunati fuerunt in oppido
 "Arelatensi. — Quid decrevimus communi concilio caritati tuæ
 "significavimus, ut omnes sciant quid in futurum observare de-
 "beant.—Can. i. Primo loco de observatione Paschæ Dominici
 "ut uno die et uno tempore, per omnem orbem a nobis observetur;
 "et, juxta consuetudinem, literas ad omnes tu dirigas." Labbe,
 Concil. tom. i.

(2) Euseb. on Vit. Constant. l. iii. c. 17.

and a great part of the East (1); in opposition to a certain part of the East, namely, Syria and Mesopotamia. It is evident, then, that the observance of the British churches was conformable to that of Rome in this particular, at least down to the year 325, when the aforesaid letter was written; and there cannot be a doubt, that they continued in the same observance, as long as the Pope, agreeably to the ancient custom, and the decree of the council of Arles (2), had a facility of writing to them, and giving them notice of the right day of keeping Easter; that is to say, until the Britons were crushed by the Saxons, and driven into the mountains of Wales and Cornwall. This catastrophe was complete about the year 500; at which time we may suppose that, attempting to calculate the vernal equinox, and the time of the moon, for themselves, instead of receiving the calculations of Rome and Alexandria (3), they fell, not indeed into the practice of the Jews and Quartodecimans, which consisted in keeping the Pasch on the 14th day of the moon next after the vernal equi-

(1) ὅπερ δ' ἂν κατὰ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν τε καὶ Ἀφρικὴν, Ἰταλίαν τε ἄσασαν, αἰγυπτίον, σπανίαν, γαλλίαν, βρεττανίαν, λίβυαν, ὅλην ἐλλάδα, Ἀσιανὴν τε διόκην, ποτικὴν τε καὶ κιλίκιαν, μιᾷ συμφώνῳ φυλάττεται γνώμῃ. Euseb. Vit. Cons. l. iii. c. 19.

(2) Can. i.

(3) St. Leo testifies that the calculation was made at Alexandria, (which city was famous for astronomical studies) and being notified to the Pope, was by him promulgated throughout Christendom.

nox, whatever day of the week that happened to be, but into a peculiar error of their own, by keeping Easter on the 14th day when it fell upon a Sunday ; whereas the churches on the continent, in this case, waited till the ensuing Sunday. This erroneous calculation the British prelates seem to have communicated to those of Ireland and Scotland. The error in question, though attended with great inconveniences (1), yet not being formally condemned by the Church, like that of the Quartodecimans, was tolerated by the Roman See and the prelates in communion with it, until the Christians of these islands becoming sensible of it, gradually relinquished it. — Now this rectifying of an acknowledged error, Dr. Ledwich repeatedly terms *apostacy*. But to what system did the British churches apostatize ? To that which was common to all Christians except themselves ; to that which their fathers had followed, and subscribed to in a great council ; in short, to that which Dr. Ledwich himself, with all those of his communion, adopt at the present day ! See, Sir, into what disorders and contradictions this bewildered antiquary has plunged, in order to

(1) Venerable Bede furnishes us with a striking instance of this inconvenience with respect to King Oswy, who followed the British computation, and his Queen Eanfled, who adopted that of the continent. It happened on one occasion, that the King was celebrating his Easter with Halleluiahs and flesh meat, while the Queen was beginning her Holy Week with lamentations and fasting. L. iii. c. 25.

prove that Catholicity was not the ancient religion of Ireland !

I have run to this length upon a controversy, comparatively trivial; because I could not more briefly dispel the mist in which Dr. Ledwich has involved it, for the sake of misrepresenting one of the most important subjects of Irish antiquity, the *ancient religion of the island*.

I am, &c.



LETTER XVII.

Cork, July 27, 1807.

DEAR SIR,

MY road from Cashel to this city led me through Cahir, Baliporeen, and Fermoy. The last mentioned town is a new creation, having started up, all at once, at the command of its proprietor, Mr. Anderson. It is pleasantly situated on the banks of the Blackwater River, over which a firm and elegant stone bridge is thrown. The town itself being uniformly built of neat houses of stone, overcast with a white composition, and the streets standing in parallel and perpendicular lines, being also well paved, and kept exceedingly clean, few, if any towns of the same size in England, can be compared with it in exterior beauty. With respect, however, to the face of the country in general, speaking of it as far as I have yet seen it, I cannot agree with a late able writer, that Ireland is "the fairest island in the world (1);" while her elder sister stands by her side. This I am sure of, that I have not yet seen in Ireland such a

(1) See Parnell's Historical Apology for the Irish Catholics, p. 107.

garden as the vale of Evesham, such hills and dales as those of Derbyshire and South Wales, nor such forest scenery as that of Windsor or the New Forest. True it is, this country appears to a disadvantage, in consequence of its relative poverty and unsettled state, which cannot but have proved unfavourable to the planting of hedges, trees, and woods ; as likewise to the building of neat villages, elegant churches, and comfortable farm-houses, with the other numerous ornaments and conveniencies to be met with in every well inhabited part of England. I may add that, as far as I am able to judge, the soil and climate of this island, though perhaps better adapted to pasturage, are not so favourable to the growth of large timber trees and wheat corn, nor to the ripening of fruit, as those under the same parallels of latitude in our own.

As I approached, however, to the city of Cork, I found the country surprisingly improve in all these respects, till reaching the Vale of Glanmire, by what is called the lower road, I was quite enchanted with the beauties, natural and artificial, of the scenery which opened to my view ; particularly with the grand expanse of water in the center of it, skirted, as it is on each side, with verdant meadows, and enclosed by lofty hills, whose groves, on the tops of them, seem to reach the clouds. But this view was only a foretaste of the delight which I experienced, when I beheld this sheet of water disembodying itself into the grand estuary of Cork. As my eye wandered up

and down the delightful scene, surveying by turns the majestic tide, covered with ships and boats, moving in various directions ; the aspiring hills and rocks, crowned with elegant villas and plantations ; and the magnificent city itself, with the back ground of vast mountains ; I concluded in my mind, that neither the Severn at Chepstow, nor the sea at Southampton, were to be compared with it.

The renowned emporium of Cork owes its foundation to St. Finbar, its first bishop, and his disciple St. Nesson ; who, about the end of the sixth century, established a school there, which soon became exceedingly celebrated and numerous. By this means a hollow marsh, as the name Cork implies (1), soon grew up to be a bishop's see, and a flourishing city. It is still remarkable for the numerous well regulated schools it contains, for instructing the youth of both sexes, especially the poor, in the several branches of literature proper for them, and chiefly in the religious doctrine and morality originally taught here by St. Finbar. Indeed, no pains are spared for this purpose, by the bishops and priests in every part of Ireland which I have visited ; and I confidently assert, that a more glaring and calumnious falsehood never was published against any set of men, than that which is constantly propagated in England, against the Irish Catholic Clergy, that they keep the lower order of

(1) Corcach.

the people uninstructed, in order to attach it more firmly to themselves and their religion, under an idea that ignorance is the mother of devotion.

This very morning, Sir, I have visited a catholic school, formed upon Mr. Lancaster's plan, for the education of poor boys ; and I could not but admire the method by which two hundred children are taught to read, write, and cast accounts, together with their christian duty, under one master, and that in less time, than a tenth part of their number could acquire equal learning by the ordinary method. A large school is now preparing for this establishment, when the 200 boys will be augmented to 600. There are other schools in the city, at which from 600 to 700 poor catholic boys are educated, by means of a subscription amongst the bishop, clergy, gentry, and opulent tradesmen of their communion. In other parts of Ireland, where there are few or no Catholics of these descriptions, I found that the poor-schools were supported by the pence and half-pence collected, for this purpose, every week by the parish priest.

For the education of poor girls, there are two houses in different parts of the city, of the institute founded by my respectable friend, called the Presentation ; in each of which there are seven or eight mistresses, who educate gratis as many hundreds of poor children in constant succession. For the nature of the institute requires, that its members should receive no gratuity whatsoever for their trouble, but should devote themselves

during life, to the instruction of poor children, from pure motives of charity and religion (1). There are already five other houses of this new institute; one at Kilkenny, another at Killarney, a third at Waterford, and two in Dublin. Besides these, there are other establishments for the education of poor girls at Tullow, Thurles, Drogheda, and in most parts of Ireland; differing in certain respects from the above-mentioned institute, but all having the same meritorious object in view, the gratuitous instruction of poor female children. The members of some of the latest institutes, engage in them for a twelve-month, others for their lives. I found also, in different towns and cities, small communities of single men, of a pious and charitable disposition, who have devoted themselves, but without any permanent engagement, to religious exercises and the education of poor boys; many hundreds of whom they have constantly in a course of religious, moral, and useful instruction. Some of these good men are possessed of considerable property, which they devote to the same laudable object as they do their persons. I have met with other classes of these associated schoolmasters, who, being otherwise unprovided with the means

(1) How well these ladies succeed in their patriotic as well as pious undertaking, the public has heard from Sir John Carr, who asserts that "the children educated at the Convent of the Presentation at Killarney, are universally sought after as servants, by Protestants as well as by Catholics, on account of their irreproachable conduct." *Stranger in Ireland*, p. 384.

of supporting themselves, are accustomed to make shoes, or exercise some other handicraft in extra hours, in order to gain just so much as is necessary for their maintenance, while their principal employment is the charitable instruction of poor boys.

I say nothing of the Catholic Orphan and Asylum Houses at Cork and in Dublin, nor of the private schools for the education of the youth of both sexes; but I must not omit to inform you, that in the former of these cities, besides the two communities of the Presentation, mentioned above, there is also a convent, as it is called, of the Ursuline ladies; an institute which has been long celebrated all over the continent for its method and success in giving a moral, religious, and genteel education to young females of the higher class. The ladies of Cork have at present, about sixty children of that description under their care, whom they instruct in the ornamental as well as the religious branches of education. To accomplish the principal objects they have in view, they conceive it to be as essentially necessary to keep their scholars from the knowledge of some things, as it is to communicate to them information concerning others. In two points they are, with just reason, inexorably rigid; they never permit a novel to enter within their walls, and they never suffer a scholar to go out of them, in order to be present at a theatrical representation. In fact, of what use would their lessons of filial duty, domestic retiredness, the

dread of sin, and the love of God, be to the mind of a pupil, who should behold all such virtues held up to contempt in those ensnaring publications of the circulating libraries, and those still more fascinating amusements of the theatre. For when does the grave parent appear upon the stage, but in quality of a jealous and avaricious tyrant, who is the enemy of his offspring's happiness? For what end is the serious moralist or Christian introduced there, except to detect him in vice, and expose him as a hypocrite? On the other hand, is there a character of either sex, brought forward to engage the admiration and affection of the spectators, who is not a model of the fashionable vices of the age, (being precisely those which young people ought to be chiefly armed against) its dissipation, its prodigality, and its irreligion? In vain, Sir, will you attempt to correct the deleterious effects of this subtle poison, by mingling some moral lessons in the cup of vice. The virtues you recommend to us are those which, in this age and country, we are not strongly tempted to violate. On the other hand, the vices which you hold out to our hatred, are such as we before-hand held in abhorrence. In spite of what dramatists and rhyming moralists say, my experience tells me, that the real reformation of my disorderly passions is a work of seriousness and pain, not of amusement and pleasure. In vain do you remind me, that the stage has of late years been chastened, and that the indecencies, which sullied the drama fifty or sixty

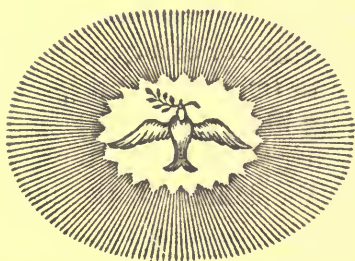
years ago, are now banished from it. Supposing this were true to the extent you wish me to understand; supposing there were nothing in the plot, nothing in the words, nothing in the dresses, nothing in the dances, nothing in the company, either within the doors or without the doors of the theatres, to excite one particular passion, the most difficult of all others to curb and repress, (but, alas ! how far are these suppositions from the truth in each of the instances!) yet, remember, Sir, there are other passions congenial to the human breast, which it is equally our duty to fight against, as against the one alluded to (1). In a word, Sir, the morality of the theatre is directly the reverse of the morality of the gospel, and in many respects, even of the natural law ; and I hereby warn you, Sir, never to complain to me of your children, should they turn out undutiful, or otherwise immoral, if you permit them to frequent the playhouse, or even the circulating library.

In concluding this letter, I must not forget to mention, that the ladies of the institute of St. Ursula, at Cork, besides their school for the education of genteel children, take part in the

(1) There is one vice, in particular, more frequently and severely condemned in scripture than any other, and declared even to be the *beginning of all evil*, which in the system of dramatic morality, and even in common discourse, has been transferred into the catalogue of virtues, namely, pride. Christians now-a-days are not only *proud*, but they are constantly *professing their pride*, and boasting of it ! It is unnecessary to shew, in what manner the ethics of the stage are directly calculated to excite and augment this immoderate opinion and love of our own worth and qualities.

meritorious work of their sisters of the Presentation, by keeping open a poor-school in a different part of their house, where eighty poor catholic girls are instructed by mistresses appointed for this purpose. The present superior of this establishment is sister to my friend the Catholic Bishop of Cork, whose name is held in so much respect by persons of all denominations in both islands.

I am, &c.



LETTER XVIII.

Cork, July 28, 1807.

DEAR SIR,

IT would require a volume, to dwell upon the different modes, in which the catholic clergy of Ireland exert themselves, to procure, not only a moral and religious, but also a practically useful education, for the poor children of their respective parishes. This is the fact with respect to the villages and hamlets, no less than the towns and cities. I can speak to this point from my own observation and experience. For when, in travelling through the country, my chaise has stopped at a village, I have generally made it my business to inquire for the school, which has often turned out to be the same building with the chapel; and I have always found it well filled with children, who were learning to read, write, and cast accounts, as well as their catechism. In like manner, when the driver of the chaise, in creeping up a mountain or hill, has descended from his seat in

E e

order to relieve his horses, I have seldom failed to descend from mine, in order to intrude myself into some or other of the smoky cabins of the poor on the road side, for the purpose of examining the children, who swarm in them, upon the chief points of their catechism. Now I aver that, upon the desert mountains as well as in the thronged villages, I have found the children in general far better instructed in their religious and moral duties, than I have found poor children of the same age (for I have heretofore made it my business to examine them also) in the country places of England (1). This assertion, which intimates that the lower order of Irish are, upon the whole, better instructed than the same class in England, I know, will surprise you. But to convince you that I am not singular in my ideas (2), and by way of taking a more comprehensive view of the subject, I shall state to you a

(1) The present Bishop of London complains, that he "found vast numbers of his diocesans in a state little short of pagan ignorance and irreligion." What wonder that a great proportion of the members of the established church should be as indifferent to its doctrine as to its rites, when we are assured from good authority, that "out of a population of 64,000 inhabitants, 52,000" are of this description! Archdeacon Woodhouse's Charge, A.D. 1800.

(2) The intelligent author of a late pamphlet, called "The Address of a Christian Philosopher to the Hibernian Society in London for the Diffusion of Religious Knowledge in Ireland," very forcibly maintains and proves, *that the bulk of the vulgar Irish are better instructed in the Christian doctrine, than the bulk of the vulgar English*, p. 5.

fact which I have lately learned from a military officer of equal honour and discernment. He said that, having raised a company of soldiers, composed of nearly the same number of Englishmen and Irishmen, he found so many more of the latter had learned to read and write than of the former, that he was obliged to choose most of his serjeants from amongst them. As you are seldom without a regiment, or a battalion at least of regulars in your neighbourhood, in which, of course, you will find a third of the soldiers to be Irish, I invite you to make the experiment upon it, with respect to the comparative number of Englishmen and Irishmen who have learnt to read and write, which my friend was obliged to make upon his company ; and I request you will communicate to me the result of your inquiry.

If what is stated should be well grounded, how much is the English public imposed upon, by the incessant and loud complaints with which it is stunned, on the subject of the alledged brutal ignorance of the Irish poor, and their total want of education ; as if they were a race of savages, unacquainted with the use of letters, and utterly destitute of christian and moral instruction ! If this were true, the fault would not rest with them, but with their government, which, till of late years, prohibited their having masters of their own religion. But it is not true ; for as to the use of letters, I really believe, conformably to the statement of my friend the officer, that a

greater comparative number of them are acquainted with it, than of the poor cottagers in our own country ; and with respect to christian and moral information, I know, and am sure, that the former are learned compared with the latter. If, Sir, you hesitate to admit this assertion, I request you will, in the first place, after reading over the Church Catechism in *The Common Prayer Book*, and *The General Catechism for the Catholics of Ireland*(1), impartially tell me, without any reference to controverted points, which of the two compositions you think best calculated to furnish a comprehensive idea of the doctrines of Christianity, and the general duties of morality. In the second place, I beg you will inform yourself of any man, whatever his description may be, who has visited both islands, whether the Catholic Clergy on my side of the water, or the Protestant Clergy on your side of it, are more assiduous in visiting and instructing their poor parishioners, and particularly in teaching the children their catechism (2).

(1) Printed and sold by Fitzpatrick, No. 4, Capel-street, Dublin.

(2) The author of the above quoted Address to the Hibernian Society, paints a striking, but true picture of the professional labours and merits of the Catholic Clergy of Ireland, in the following passage:
 “ If, Gentlemen, you are not under the influence of very gross prejudice, you will, in receiving representations of the necessitous state of Ireland, maturely weigh the allegations of men who have

Yet such is the infection of a general report, that those who are liberal on other subjects are found to be bigotted on this. Thus the late tourist writes as follows : “ The instruction of
 “ the common people (in Ireland) is in the low-
 “ est state of degradation. In the summer a
 “ wretched uncharactered itinerant derives a
 “ scanty existence by opening a school in some
 “ ditch covered with heath and furze. What
 “ proportion of morals and learning can flow

“ stigmatized, and still stigmatize as the last of mankind, some of
 “ the most deserving and useful men in the community. Yes, Gen-
 “ tlemen, take an impartial view of them, and you must allow that
 “ I do not say too much. There are among them preachers and
 “ teachers of the first excellence: there are men of profound eru-
 “ dition, men of nice classical taste, and men of the best critical
 “ acumen. They are not formed, it is true, to shine in the draw-
 “ ing-room or at the tea-table; nor are such qualifications very de-
 “ sirable in churchmen; for you well know, that the refined man-
 “ ners of fashionable life are often as incompatible with christian
 “ morality, as the grosser vices of the vulgar herd. Their manners
 “ are, in general, decent; but their exertions are great, their zeal is
 “ indefatigable. See them, in the most inclement seasons, at the
 “ most unseasonable hours, in the most uncultivated parts, amidst
 “ the poorest and most wretched of mankind! They are always
 “ ready at a call; nothing can deter them; the sense of duty sur-
 “ mounts every obstacle! And there is no reward for them in this
 “ world! The good effects of their zeal are visible to every impar-
 “ tial and discerning mind; notwithstanding the many great disad-
 “ vantages under which it labours. For instance, you may often
 “ find a parish so extensive and populous as to require two or three
 “ clergymen properly to serve it; and yet the poverty of the parish
 “ is such as to be scarce able to maintain one in a tolerably decent
 “ manner. I could point out many other disadvantages, but I for-
 “ bear at present, &c ——— After all, the good effects are so con-
 “ spicuous, that I repeat it again: the lower orders of Irishmen are
 “ better instructed in the doctrines of Christianity, than the lower
 “ orders of Englishmen.” P. 27.

“ from such a source can easily be imagined. A
 “ gentleman stated, before the Dublin Associa-
 “ tion for distributing Bibles, that whole parishes
 “ were without a Bible (1).” Elsewhere he says :
 “ Education never beamed upon the poor Irish-
 “ man : sentiments of honour were never instilled
 “ into him.”—But, without stopping to contro-
 vert the general statement of the fact itself,
 which is far from being accurate, I could wish to
 ask this writer, why an itinerant master, especi-
 ally amongst a people of simple and uncorrupt
 manners, may not instil good morals and litera-
 ture into his scholars as well as a high pensioned
 pedagogue of London or Westminster ? The
 late classical and illustrious Edmund Burke ac-
 knowledged to his friend, my Right Rev. Fellow-
 traveller and present host, that he learnt more
 Latin and Greek from an obscure schoolmaster
 on the banks of the Blackwater, than he after-
 wards acquired at the more celebrated places of
 education, and at the university itself. With
 respect to social, civil, and generous principles,
 such as come under the description of sentiments,
 in case the tourist thinks these are acquired from
 schoolmasters, he must admit that the itinerants,
 whom he describes, are capable of communicat-
 ing them ; since he unequivocally attributes
 them to the Irish poor, who are known to have
 no other masters. By the same argument he
 must admit that these itinerants are capable of

(1) Sir John Carr's *Stranger in Ireland*, p. 251.

teaching classical learning, since he tells us of a poor horse-boy, in the county of Kerry, who was found by the gentleman, his employer, to be well versed in the classical historians, orators, and poets (1) ; adding, that classical learning was quite general among the peasants in that remote part of Ireland a few years ago. That this is an undoubted fact, and that a great proportion of these peasants, some twenty or thirty years back, could even converse fluently in Latin, I can testify in some degree from my own acquaintance with some of them, and still more from the account of witnesses of the highest honour, and of first-rate information. Indeed the fact has already been asserted, in the face of the British public, by the enlightened O'Leary, who speaks of "barefooted boys studying the classics" in the mountains of Ireland, and of the civility "of the common people there to strangers, and" to one another, as circumstances unparalleled "with respect to the common people of other" nations (2)."

But, says our author, who, upon this point, speaks the opinion of Protestants in general, the Irish Catholics must be grossly ignorant of religion and morality, since "there are whole" parishes in Ireland without the use of a Bible." It is to supply this deficiency, that an association of voluntary subscribers has lately been esta-

(1) Sir John Carr's *Stranger in Ireland*, p. 180.

(2) See the Rev. Arthur O'Leary's *Address to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal*, with an Account of Sir Henry Mildmay's Bill, p. 16.

blished in London.—Is then the perusal of the Bible, Sir, the only means by which mankind can attain to a knowledge of the revealed truths of religion? Was it intended to be such by the divine Author of Christianity, when he sent his apostles *to teach all nations, even to the end of the world* (1), without saying a single word to them about writing the gospels or epistles? In fact, our Saviour knew that 99 out of a 100 of those individuals of all nations, whom he sent his apostles to convert, would neither be able to procure any written books of revelation, nor even to read them, if they could procure them. Were the patriarchal families, and the other servants of God, in a state of ignorance, concerning either the positive injunctions of the Almighty respecting the Sabbath-day, the rites of sacrifice, or their moral duties, during the space of near 2500 years; namely, from the days of Adam down to those of Moses, in consequence of no part of the Old Testament being then written? And were the Christian Churches established by the apostles throughout Asia, Europe, and Africa, ignorant of the law of Christ, because no part of the New Testament was at that time committed to writing? During more than four hundred years after the christian æra, that is to say, during the golden ages of the Church, the Canon of the scripture, as it is generally received by Protestants, remained unsettled. In fact, the di-

(1) Matt. xxviii. 19, 20.

vine law, like the law of the land, is partly written, and partly unwritten (1): and as it is possible that we might have known and enjoyed the British laws and constitution, though our ancestors had been unacquainted with the use of letters; so it is possible, that all the essential doctrines and institutions of Christianity, might have been transmitted to us (as several of them, by the confession of Protestants themselves, actually have been) (2) though the different books of the New Scripture had not been composed. Such is the uniform doctrine of the enlightened Fathers of the Church in the primitive ages, that is to say, of an Augustine, a Vincent of Lerins, a Tertullian, and an Irenæus. As I am not writing a treatise of controversy, but barely refuting a popular error, I shall satisfy myself with quoting in the margin of this letter a passage from the last mentioned doctor of the Greek and Gallican churches, who, as we have seen above, had been instructed in his faith by an illustrious disciple of St. John the Evangelist, I mean St. Polycarp (3). You will see that he expressly admits

(1) "Lex Scripta" and "Lex non Scripta," Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. i. sect. 3.

(2) Such as the observance of Sunday instead of the Sabbath, the practice of infant baptism, and the very belief in the inspiration of the four gospels and canonical epistles, &c.

(3) "Tantæ igitur ostensionis cum sint hæc, non oportet adhuc quærere apud alios veritatem, quam facile est ab ecclesiâ sumere, cum apostoli, quasi in depositarium dives, plenissimè in eam contulerint omnia quæ sunt veritatis, ut omnis qui velit,umat: ex ea potum vitæ.—Quid autem si neque apostoli quidem scrip-

the possibility of retaining the revealed word of God without written documents, and that he asserts the fact of several whole nations in his time possessing this divine word, as far as was necessary for them, without ink or paper, by the help of tradition and the Spirit of God.

And what, after all, is the word of God? "It does not," says a holy father, "consist in the letter of it, but the sense." For *the letter*, we are assured, *killeth, but the spirit giveth life* (1). If in reading the scriptures, we fall into essential errors with respect to its meaning, it becomes to us a dark lanthorn, or what is worse, an *ignis fatuus*, instead of a beneficial light. Thus you, Sir, whom I know to be a strict member of the Church of England, think that the Dissenters would be more enlightened than they are, if they did not read the Bible at all, whilst they understand one passage of it against episcopacy, another against the established liturgy, and a third against the doctrine of man's freedom of action; and both your church and the congregations of the Dissenters wish to take the Bible out of the hands of the Quakers, when they interpret it to forbid baptism and the eucharist, the defending

"turas reliquissent nobis; nonne oportebat ordinem sequi traditionis, quam tradiderunt iis quibus committebant ecclesias? Cui ordinationi assentiunt multæ gentes Barbarorum, qui in Christo credunt, sine charta vel atramento, scriptam habentes per spiritum in cordibus suis salutem, et veterem traditionem diligenter custodientes." St. Iræn. contra Hæres. iii. c. 4.

(1) 2 Cor. iii. 6.

our country from the attacks of its enemies, the payment of tithes, and the shewing due respect to magistrates and the sovereign. Hence, Sir, you see, that the mere distributing of Bibles is not a sure way to diffuse the light of the gospel amongst the people, unless you furnish them, at the same time, with some accredited interpreter of their meaning ; which meaning the very dissensions amongst honest and well-meaning people, who profess to make it their only guide, prove to be often obscure, or rather unintelligible ; in other words, unless you point out to them a living speaking tribunal, which is at all times open and ready to explain their difficulties, and to decide upon their controversies. The good sense of human legislators has, in every state which has been founded since the beginning of the world, provided such living speaking tribunals for the interpretation of their laws ; and, as the great Fenelon observes, it would be evidently better to have no code of laws at all, than such a one as should authorize every man to interpret it for himself (1).

(1) Whereas infinite mischief arises to mankind from their ignorance and wilful violation of the laws of the state, and whereas the support of judges and tribunals to interpret these laws is attended with an enormous expense to the public, and with other great inconveniences, it would be well worthy the charity and patriotism of the Bible Societies to subscribe for a cheap edition of all the statutes of the realm, and to distribute the copies amongst the poor, or at least to lodge one copy in every village in the united kingdom, that every subject might decide for himself in whatever concerns his person and property !—You, who are a magistrate and a sensible man, start at

What then are the sentiments and ordinances of the Catholic Church in this respect? She earnestly wishes, in the first place, that the truths and the maxims of God's word may be deeply impressed upon the minds of all her children, and she requires of all her pastors, from the highest to the lowest, as the most important of all their duties, to be unremittingly assiduous in inculcating this word to the young and ignorant. To qualify themselves for fulfilling this obligation, she enjoins all her pastors constantly to read and study the holy scriptures, which indeed she has the merit of having preserved inviolate, during the many centuries which have elapsed since their delivery. With respect to the laity, she never interdicted the Bible to them, as Protestants suppose ; but, at a time when coblers and tailors were insulting heaven with their blasphemies, and convulsing the earth with their seditions (1), all grounded upon the misinterpretation of the Bible, she enjoined, that those who took this mysterious book in hand, should have received such a tincture of learning, as to be able to read it in one or other of the learned languages, unless their respective pastors should judge, from their good sense and good dispositions, that they would derive no mischief from reading it in

this proposal! But pray, Sir, are not the common people better qualified to judge for themselves of human laws, regarding the things of this world, than of divine revelations concerning the mysterious nature of God, his invisible grace, and his spiritual kingdom?

(1) Muncer, Knipperdolling, and the other first Anabaptists.

the vulgar tongue (1). At present, however, the Catholic Prelates do not think it necessary to enforce even this restriction, and, accordingly, you may find in the shops of all the principal booksellers in Ireland, Bibles in folio, in quarto, and in octavo, which are indiscriminately offered to sale, with the entire approbation of those prelates.

One restriction, however, necessarily remains upon all Catholics who read the scriptures, that is to say, upon the clergy, the bishops, and the Pope himself, no less than upon the laity; which is, not to interpret it in any other sense than the Universal Church has always understood it. Hence these sayings of the fathers, *Nil nisi quod traditum est* (2). *Quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus* (3), are fundamental maxims in our communion. In fact, this is saying that we acknowledge a still subsisting tribunal in our Church, for deciding on contested points in the divine law; as there ever must be human tribunals to interpret doubtful points in the laws of men. But do not fancy that this restriction was imposed by our Church, from a consciousness, that the plain obvious text of scripture is contrary to her tenets and favourable to yours! It has always subsisted, it is of divine origin. You know, Sir, which are the chief points of contro-

(1) Reg. iv. Ind. Trid.

(2) Pope Stephen writing to St. Cyprian. Inter Opera. St. Cyprian.

(3) Vincentius Lerin in Commonit.

versy between your Church and ours. Now, are you really of opinion, that any sincere, unprejudiced person, reading in his Bible the texts principally controverted between Catholics and Protestants, would, if left to follow the unbiased dictate of his own judgment, prefer your interpretation of them to ours? Do you think, that a simple upright man, reading, for instance, the institution of the blessed sacrament of the gospel, *Take, eat, this is my body ; Drink, this is my blood* (1), and the promise of it: *My flesh is meat indeed, my blood is drink indeed* (2), would be led to believe that it was a mere ceremony of eating bread and drinking wine in remembrance of him, which Christ was instituting and promising? Or do you, indeed, conceive, that Protestants, in explaining these texts, as signifying a mere commemorative and figurative ceremony, adopt interpretations, which, in their natural and obvious sense, the words present to them? Again, when the same unprejudiced reader should meet with this striking declaration of Christ to his head apostle, whilst he bestowed upon him the name of PETER, or ROCK, *Thou art PETER, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it ; and I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, &c.* (3) would he be led

(1) Matt. xvi. 26, 27. Mark xiv. 22. Luke xxii. 19.

(2) John vi. 55.

(3) Matt. xvi. 18.

to fancy, that Christ here constituted every civil prince, pagan as well as Christian, a head of his Church, and not the successor of St. Peter ? Lastly, have the catholic pastors any reason to fear that such a reader will be induced to dispute their authority in spiritual concerns, from perusing such texts as the following : *Tell the Church, and if he will not hear the Church, let him be to thee as a heathen or a publican* (1). *Obey your prelates* (2), *and be subject to them : for they watch as being to render an account to God of your souls* (3).

With this restriction, dictated by common sense no less than by religion, (for would it not be foolish in a private individual, to suppose that he understands the scriptures better than all the fathers and doctors of the Church put together, and that God has abandoned the whole Church to error, and preserved him from it ?) I say, with this restriction, I would not, at the present day, withhold the divine text itself, even in the vulgar tongue, from any one who is desirous of reading it, though I know very well that he may acquire the sense of it, in all necessary points, much more speedily and securely from his catechism, and the instructions of his pastor ; yet would not I withhold it, because there is an unction and energy in the text, which no other

(1) Matt. xviii. 17.

(2) Πείθεσθε τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ὑμῶν.

(3) Heb. xiii. 17.

language can equal. But, if I found a second Voltaire extracting mental poison from Solomon's Song ; or another Cromwell, reading to a ruthless soldiery God's ordinances concerning the smiting of the Amorites and Canaanites (1), in order to induce them to kill every Catholic, man, woman, and child in Ireland ; or a Venner, maintaining from the Revelations, that no King is to be obeyed but King Jesus ; or finally, were I to hear those dangerous comments of our modern Moravian and Antinomian Methodists on St. Paul's Epistles (2), importing that they, being made free by Christ, are not subject to any law either of God or man, I would, if it were in my power, withdraw the Bible from every such profaner of it, and, instead of it, I would put into his hands the excellent General Catechism for the Catholics of Ireland, mentioned above, in which he would find the bread of God's word broken, and prepared for his weak digestion, by those prelates to whom this duty particularly belongs.

In a word, the object of the associators, and other persons, who distribute Bibles amongst the Irish peasantry, with instructions to hammer out of them a religion for themselves, is not to enlighten, but to obscure their minds ; is not to communicate religious knowledge, but to deprive them of that which they have, to unsettle their belief, and cause them, like themselves, to be

(1) Deut. vii. 2.

(2) To the Romans and Galatians.

tossed to and fro, and carried about by every wind of doctrine, Ephes. iv. 14. (1).

I remain, &c.

(1) A most respectable and intelligent correspondent of mine has favoured me with the following observations, relative to the subject last treated of. ——— “The Associators are composed of three
 “ distinct classes, the *contributors*, the *managers*, and the *agents*.
 “ The first class consists chiefly of good-natured, religious, and
 “ wealthy men and women, residing mostly in and about London.
 “ These persons hearing much of the reported ignorance, poverty,
 “ and crimes of the Irish, and conceiving that the reading of the
 “ Bible is the grand specific for all these evils, contribute their money very freely to an institution professing to furnish every cabin
 “ with the sacred text. The second class consists of the managers,
 “ who are, for the most part, hypocritical, ostentatious traders
 “ upon a false character for piety and good works, who circulate
 “ amongst the former class every falsehood in fact, and groundless
 “ conjecture which seems calculated to promote their views. The
 “ agents are low vulgar preachers, secretaries and clerks, being
 “ chiefly of some sectarian description, sordid, unconscientious,
 “ and earning a livelihood by deceit and fraud. In proof of all this,
 “ and to shew how egregiously the contributors are imposed upon
 “ by the managers and agents, I can take upon myself to confirm
 “ Mr. M. K————’s assertion in his *Thoughts on the Civil Condi-*
 “ *tion of the Catholic Clergy*; that after all the boasted labours and
 “ ostentatious reports, of these men having distributed in Ireland
 “ fifty, sixty, and seventy thousand Bibles within certain periods,
 “ *it does not appear that a single volume, thus contributed, has found*
 “ *its way into a single catholic cottage.* Many others, as well as
 “ myself, have inquired after these Bibles in the very districts
 “ pointed out in the Reports in question, but without the least
 “ success. The truth is, the missionaries and their agents are ge-
 “ nerally no better than impostors, embezzling the money of their
 “ masters and mistresses, and then feeding them in exchange for it
 “ with false and absurd reports; calculated, however, to gratify
 “ the favourite and deep-rooted prejudices of English Protestants.”



LETTER XIX.

Cork, July 31, 1807.

DEAR SIR,

SINCE I wrote to you last, I have had different opportunities, in the visits I have paid to the gentry who possess villas upon the estuary of Cork, to survey, in detail, its several beauties. I am just now returned from the most delightful sailing party upon it, which I

ever enjoyed in my life ; not excepting those in Torbay and on the coasts of Dorsetshire and Hampshire. The day could not be finer, nor the wind better regulated, so as to give spirit to the sailing, without the smallest degree of danger, nor the company more agreeable. Our vessel was part of a flotilla of about twenty sail, in one of which there was a band of music. But what chiefly enchanted me, were the views upon the water, and the surrounding landscape still varying, and becoming more and more interesting the further we sailed ; the harbour, where part of the royal fleet is constantly stationed, the elegant town of Cove rising from the water in the form of an amphitheatre, the numerous bays, rocks, mountains, and islands, with interspersed country seats, pavilions, villages, fortifications, and batteries, down to the very opening of the great sea. Immense sums have been thrown away upon some of these fortifications and batteries, which are evidently calculated to repel those enemies alone who may happen to descend from the clouds ; and it will be well if a great part of the million, or fifteen hundred thousand pounds, which are said to be still required for erecting certain new fortifications, with all the necessities and conveniencies belonging to them, be not equally thrown away. For, by what I can learn, Ireland is of all other parts of the British empire, peculiarly the country of jobs ; which may be accounted for upon political as well as moral principles.

The city of Cork is computed to contain about 100,000 inhabitants, two-thirds of whom are Catholics ; the remaining third consists of members of the established church, Dissenters, Quakers, and Methodists. The last mentioned are increasing prodigiously in Ireland as well as in England : but it is all at the expense of protestantism ; for they never gain a proselyte among the Catholics. Yet, however populous the cities and towns are in this island, it is in the country cabins, that the strength of its numbers is to be found. These cabins line the road side in every county I have yet visited, as well among the cross and bye roads, as the turnpike roads, in a manner that, even after travelling through Lancashire and Staffordshire, you will hardly conceive ; and all of them swarm, as I have before expressed myself, with handsome, healthy children. I need not add that the cottagers are, in a manner, exclusively Catholic, in three out of the four provinces of Ireland ; and that in the fourth the Catholics are more numerous than all the other denominations of believers and unbelievers put together. In some country parishes in which I stopped, I found that there were not more than three or four protestant families, whose servants, at the same time, were Catholics ; in others, that only the minister and his clerk were Protestants, the latter of whom was barely an occasional conformist.

In ascertaining that the catholic population of

Ireland is exceedingly great, I had but to consult my own eye sight; but I never should have been able to form any thing like a correct idea of its absolute number, or of the proportion which it bears to the rest of the inhabitants, without the information which I have derived from the calculations of industrious and intelligent writers on this subject, who have had better means of information than I possess. The Royal Irish Academy published the plan of a statical inquiry concerning Ireland, one part of which was directed to the enumeration of its inhabitants, as distinguished into Catholics and Protestants; and Edward Hay, Esq. a member of the academy, took great pains in executing that plan (1), with the concurrence and approbation of Lord Fitzwilliam, Edmund Burke, Esq. and other distinguished personages in his native county of Wexford. The Rev. Mr. Whitlaw has since prosecuted the undertaking; but it was reserved for Major Newenham to furnish the legislature and the public with a treatise which is deservedly considered as the standard work on the population of Ireland (2). It is a satisfaction, however, to observe that the different enumera-

(1) Appendix to Hay's History of the Insurrection in Wexford.

(2) "A Statical and Historical Inquiry into the Progress and Magnitude of the Population of Ireland, by Thomas Newenham, Esq. London, 1805." This gentleman had before published "Essays on the Population of Ireland, and the Character of the Irish, by a Member of the last Irish Parliament. London, 1803."

tors do not materially differ in their returns, and that they all give the lie direct to Dr. Duigenan (1), who fears he shall not be thought sincere by the church which so amply pays him, if he omit any opportunity of insulting and injuring that from which he has deserted. A few days ago I had the gratification of dining, and spending an evening, with the above-mentioned enlightened and accurate author, Major N. who still further convinced me by word of mouth, of the correctness of the statements which he has demonstrated in print; namely, that the Catholics of Ireland, to speak in round numbers, are considerably more than four millions, while the inhabitants of every other denomination do not greatly exceed one million.—You will be pleased to observe, Sir, that a great deal of importance, in a political as well as a moral point of view, begins now to be attached to the question concerning the relative numbers of the Protestants and Catholics of Ireland; for a reason which I may be allowed to quote from the illustrious Edmund Burke, and which he assigned almost ten years ago: “I am sure,” says this best friend of his king and country, “that every one must be sensible of the truth of Lord Fitzwilliam’s assertion, on seeing Mr. Hay’s plan: that the de-

(1) He maintains that “the whole inhabitants of Ireland do not exceed three millions, and that one million two hundred thousand of these are Protestants.” Speech of Dr. Duigenan, May 13, 1805.

“pression of the Catholics is not the persecution of a sect, but tyranny over a people (1).”

That the catholic population should be so great as it is, and that it should have gone on increasing, under so much depression, poverty, and persecution as it has endured for two centuries and a half, is really astonishing. The history of the human race furnishes but one parallel to it, the increase of the Israelites in Egypt. This surprise will be the greater, if we take into consideration the two following circumstances. In the first place, the vast and incessant drains upon the young men of Ireland, occasioned by the army and navy, particularly of late years. How great these are and have been may be thus estimated. It is admitted that two fifths of the present disposable forces of his Majesty are Irish, and that 120,000 Catholics of this country lost their lives in fighting for him, during the last war alone (2). The second circumstance here alluded to, is the constant and prodigious efflux of poor Catholics from their own country, who formerly poured into the continent of Europe, and latterly into America, the West Indies, and England. I have reason to think, that of

(1) Copy of a Letter from Edmund Burke, Esq. to Dr. Hussey, June 9, 1798, in Appendix to Hay's History of the Insurrection.

(2) Statical and Historical Inquiry, p. 133.—With these facts before our eyes, how ridiculous must the vapouring of Dr. Duigenan appear, who pretends that the Protestants do not stand in need of the aid of Catholics to fight the battles of the country! See his Speech above quoted.

the catholic congregations of London, Manchester, and Liverpool, the only large congregations in England, three fourths are Irish, or the descendants of Irish.

If you wish to know the causes of the great population of this island, you will find them to be such as do honour to its poor inhabitants: their chastity and their abstemiousness. It is agreed amongst political and moral writers, that monogamy, or the marriage of one man with one woman, and that indissolubly contracted, as the laws of the Catholic Church require, is the great source of population; and that libertinism, polygamy, and divorce, are highly injurious to it. Now it has been stated, that the poor Irish, both men and women, are remarkable for their chastity. They marry young, and their religion takes away one of the chief incentives to infidelity, by teaching them, that even this infidelity in either party, would not justify a second marriage whilst the other is living. On the other hand, the poor cottager is not afraid of being able to support himself and his family, whilst he and they are content to live upon potatoes and milk. It is true, he must pay a high rent for the garden in which he is to grow these potatoes, not less than five pounds per acre, and an exorbitant tax to the tythe-proctor, which I have seen estimated, when every thing is considered, at one fifth of the whole value of the crop (1). Still he

(1) Besides the amount of the tithes, as valued by themselves, the proctors (illegally) charge two shillings in the pound for valuing

hopes to meet these expenses by the daily shillings which he is to earn by his labour, and the sale of a pig, which he will feed with the parings of his potatoes. And yet there are writers now-a-days (they must be actuated by pure malice against the Irish, and a wish to starve them) who advise the landlord to deprive the poor of the food which they have, potatoes, and to oblige them to use the food which they have not, and cannot get, wheaten bread (1). For my part, I consider our illustrious countryman, who introduced this nutritive root into Ireland, as the best friend and benefactor that ever landed upon its shore since the arrival of St. Patrick; and I sincerely wish that the mischief-making statue of the hero of Glencoe and pacificator of Limerick, were exchanged for the figure of that universal genius and glory of his country, Sir Walter Rawleigh. His books might be placed in the back ground, and his sword and truncheon under his feet (2); but his left hand should grasp

them. In some parts of Ireland, as Mr. Grattan stated in the Irish Parliament, the proctor or the farmer exacts two distinct sums for every child whom he finds in a cottage: one for christening the child, another for purifying the mother, though no such ceremonies were performed by any minister, and though, in most cases, there was no minister to perform them, had they been required.

(1) This measure has been repeatedly and strongly recommended and insisted upon by some writer, who is much extolled for his sagacity and local knowledge, in Cobbet's Political Register.

(2) It is true, the wars in which Sir Walter Rawleigh was engaged in Ireland, the Low Countries, and South America, were unjust and cruel; but that was the fault of his mistress, Elizabeth, who was a tyrant in her own state, and a pirate to foreign kingdoms.

a bunch of the Virginian leaves, and his right should present the true Hesperian apple, the subsistence of millions of the human race, and the renovating strength of the British trident.

Far different is the situation of many Irish Catholics in the cities and principal towns, from that of the cottagers in the country, of whom I have been speaking. Industrious, intelligent, honest, and frugal, they have acquired by commerce or trade, not only the conveniencies of life, but also the means of purchasing considerable portions of the inheritance of their forefathers, which the luxury of the present nobility and gentry has obliged the latter to sell. It is said that more than two thirds of the real property which has been sold of late years in Ireland, has been bought by Catholics; and a well-informed writer asserts, that, within the last twelvemonth alone, they have purchased lands to the amount of above 800,000*l.* (1) From what I myself can observe, it is clear to me that upon the whole there is now a vast deal more wealth amongst the Irish, than amongst the English, Catholics; notwithstanding so many of the latter are persons of noble families, and of great landed property.

The increasing wealth of the Irish Catholics, accompanied with the elective franchise which they enjoy, cannot fail of giving them great

(1) See Two More Letters from Peter Plymley, so called, to his Brother Abraham.

weight in the legislative assembly. It is true, they cannot be members of parliament themselves, but they can place several of their friends in it. At the late election for the county of Tipperary, out of 6500 registered freeholders, 5000 were found to be Catholics. At the present time, out of 10500 freeholders in that county, 9200 are Catholics. Accordingly, both the county members were returned upon their interest. On the same occasion, Sir John Newport, the deservedly popular member for the city of Waterford, was returned, chiefly by means of their votes, in opposition to government, the corporation, the established clergy, the army and the navy, all of whom exerted themselves in favour of another gentleman.

In a word, superior as the Catholics of Ireland are to the Orange faction which opposes them, in numbers, abilities, and integrity, with daily increasing wealth and political influence; befriended, as they also are, by the talents and the exertions of the first men and ablest writers in the empire, it is not in the nature of things, that they should, much longer, remain an inferior cast, the Helots and the Gibeonites of their native land. This is augured by their friends (1): this is dreaded by their enemies (2). They are

(1) See the Speeches of Lord Grenville, Mr. Fox, Mr. Grattan, &c. upon the Catholic Question in 1805.

(2) See the Speech of Dr. Duigenan, &c. on the above-mentioned occasion.

sailing into port with a straight and rapid course. Nothing can defeat their hopes, but an unexpected dereliction of that prudent, temperate, and loyal conduct, which they have hitherto pursued.

I am, &c.



LETTER XX.

Waterford, August 5, 1807.

DEAR SIR,

HAVING travelled through a considerable part of Leinster and Munster, I should have been glad to see something also of Connaught, as also to have accepted of the kind invitation of the noble proprietor of Killarney, to view the wonders of his celebrated domain. But having already exceeded the time I had prescribed to myself for this hasty excursion, and business calling me home, behold I am now at the seaport from which I am to quit this interesting island. With respect to the great commercial city from which I write, I have experienced that its intercourse with the opposite coasts of Wales, inhospitable as they are to all strangers, and particularly to their never-forgotten invaders, the Sassenachs (1), has not, in the least degree, affected the national character of its inhabitants. They are as open-hearted and hospitable, particularly to those of our countrymen who are disposed to be friendly to them, as the rest of the Irish are.

(1) Saxons, the English people.

My road from the grand emporium of Cork to this of Waterford, led me through the elegant town of Fermoy, the populous town of Clonmel, and the pleasant town of Carrick upon the Suire. The pleasure, however, which I experienced in viewing these several places was much alloyed, by the pain I felt in surveying the most magnificent and beautiful buildings in them, I mean the barracks. From the habitations of this denomination, which you are accustomed to see in England, you will not be able to judge of the extent or sumptuousness of those in all the considerable towns, and many of the villages in Ireland; while the whole expense of erecting them, and of supporting the numerous inhabitants of them, necessarily falls upon the people. The following facts, which have been communicated to me by a well-informed personage, may serve to give you some just ideas upon this subject. There are, at all times, from thirty to fifty thousand regular troops stationed in Ireland, besides twenty-one thousand militiamen, and numerous bodies of yeomanry upon permanent pay; the total expense of which military establishment, including the ordnance, barracks, martello towers, and incidentals, consumes the whole, or nearly the whole four millions which the taxes of Ireland annually produce. You will ask: "How, then, does the Irish treasury provide, for its enormous civil establishment; for its pensions, its protestant charter-schools, its churches, glebe-houses, its magnificent annual grants to private

“ and local establishments, and to individuals ?
 “ Above all, how does it supply the two *seventeenth*
 “ *parts of the gross expenditure of the empire,*
 “ in war as well as peace, which Ireland is bound
 “ to defray by the articles of the Union ? ”

These are natural questions for an Englishman, and particularly for an English landholder or stockholder to propose ; and the answer will, I conceive, afford him new and important matter for reflection.—This enormous deficit, then, is supplied by England, and actually comes out of the pockets of our own countrymen, who are otherwise so heavily taxed on their own account. It is provided annually in London, under the colour of a *loan* for Ireland ; but substantially, and bonâ fide, it is a *gift* ; for it never will, nor can be repaid. The debt rapidly accumulates, and not a chance exists of its diminution. See, then, how the case stands. The Irish say : “ Give us equal laws, without religious distinction : give us the full benefits of the British Constitution, give us the same interest in defending it that you have,—and we undertake to defend it without expense to you : nay, to supply you with myriads of brave soldiers, who, as matters stand, will not engage in your service. You may then (you must be sensible of it) keep your four millions per annum in your pockets ; you may withdraw your 50,000 troops, and dispose of them for the general service ; thus doubling your actual means of security, and enabling yourselves

“even to carry the war into the heart of the
 “enemy’s country.”——Now are not these considerations important enough, even on the principle of self-interest, to excite the attention and inquiry of the people of England? If the English stockholder feels, as the fact is, that his property is, in the present state of things, rendered less valuable, and is annually more and more impaired by these drains upon it from Ireland; if the country gentleman, the farmer, the merchant, the manufacturer, feels that a considerable portion of those taxes, which weigh so heavy upon him, is imposed or rendered necessary merely to support the ascendancy of one tenth part of the population of Ireland over the other nine parts of it, has he not a right to complain of this appropriation of his money, and to require that he himself shall not be taxed and aggrieved, with the evident risk of losing all that he possesses in this world, and his life itself, merely for the sake of aggrieving a large portion of his fellow subjects, and preventing their enjoying the common blessings of the constitution? But it is not so much the expensiveness of the present system of governing Ireland, which I complain of, as of the nature itself of that system, namely, jealousy and coercion. The barracks are, in the system of modern tactics, what the numerous castles were with which the Normans so severely oppressed the English after the conquest (1), and

(1) Henry of Huntingdon, speaking of William the Conqueror, says: “Ad castella omnes fatigabat construenda.” The Saxon

with which the English themselves bridled the Irish upon the invasion of this island a century later. And yet, Sir, the British constitution is not that odious thing, nor is the reigning monarch such a tyrant, that a nation which could freely enjoy the former, and live quietly under the latter, would rush into all the guilt and horrors of rebellion to get rid of them ! Neither is the religion of our forefathers, which reared that glorious structure of the constitution, so averse to a settled and monarchical form of government, that its professors must necessarily be traitors and Jacobins ; nor are the Irish people the faithless and cold-hearted race, that they are not to be won by justice and kindness, but must necessarily be kept to their duty by chains and the sword ! In a word, Sir, I repeat again what, in substance, I have said before : the four millions per annum spent upon soldiers and barracks might be saved to government ; the 50,000 regulars might be spared for the general exigencies of the empire, and these even might be strengthened by 100,000 more of the finest recruits in the universe ; whilst the island itself would be rendered infinitely more safe than it is at present, by raising whatever number of hardy and well-trained military men or fencibles might be thought necessary ; provided Protestants had

Chronicles says of the same king : "*Castella permisit ædificari : pauperes valde opprimi.*" Ad an. 1036. He elsewhere draws a most horrible picture of the sufferings of the people in consequence of these military stations. Ad an. 1137.

liberality enough to say : “ Since Irishmen will
 “ not give up that faith of St. Patrick which they
 “ professed when our ancestors were pagan sa-
 “ vages in the wilds of Holstein, let them retain
 “ it ! And since, according to our fundamental
 “ maxim, all Christians are free to interpret the
 “ scriptures for themselves, if they persist in
 “ maintaining, that Christ gave his real body,
 “ when he said : *Take and eat, this is my body ;*
 “ and that he actually conferred a spiritual
 “ jurisdiction on St. Peter and his successors,
 “ when he said to him : *Thou art a rock,*
 “ *and upon this rock I will build my Church :* let
 “ them maintain these sentiments ; provided they
 “ ascribe to the civil power (as they certainly do)
 “ the plenitude of *temporal* authority. We will
 “ not insist on their swearing the contrary, nor
 “ shall any of them fare the worse for their reli-
 “ gious tenets.”——“ Do you then wish,” say
 the bigots, whose only religion consists in a ha-
 tred of Catholics, “ that a believer in transub-
 “ stantiation, the mass, and prayers to the saints,
 “ should be a commander in chief or a lord chan-
 “ cellor, and thus domineer over us ?”——“ No,”
 the Catholics reply, “ we have never for a mo-
 “ ment looked up to such honours, nor aimed at
 “ such powers. You Protestants well know that,
 “ with all the advantages which you possess
 “ over us, and particularly that of having the
 “ sovereign of your religion, who alone can dis-
 “ pense civil and military honours and autho-
 “ rity, ages would pass away without one of our

“people attaining to the above-mentioned, or
 “any other of the first offices of the state. What
 “we really want are the substantial and ordinary
 “benefits of the constitution; which, however,
 “experience convinces us we shall never enjoy,
 “whilst a legal distinction subsists between us
 “and other subjects.”

By way of pointing out the grievances they labour under from the distinctions in question, the Irish Catholics are accustomed to refer to the administration of the laws in their regard. “Without complaining,” they say, “of intentional injustice, yet we know that human nature is human nature, and we see the many wise checks upon the partiality and prejudices of all persons concerned in the administration of justice, and particularly of jurymen, which have been devised by the constitution. This is extended so far, that even a foreign prisoner of war, when tried upon any indictment, is allowed to have one half of his jury composed of foreigners. But in most of our counties, we find that the pannels of jurymen are in a manner exclusively composed of Protestants. Indeed, how can it be otherwise, when the law, as it stands at present, prohibits Catholics from being sheriffs, or even under sheriffs? These officers being thus appointed, upon a principle of opposition to Catholics, can we expect they will not be more or less influenced in summoning jurors, especially upon party trials, in favour of men of their own spirit? Accord-

“ingly we prefer, when the choice rests with us,
 “to try our causes in England, rather than in
 “Ireland. And it has not unfrequently happen-
 “ed to some of us, that after trying a cause and
 “gaining it on the other side of the water, we
 “have lost it upon trying it again on this side
 “of it.”

Do not tell me, as many do, of the wisdom of the legislature in devising those tests for shutting Catholics out of both its houses, and for preventing them from serving their country in other respects : for it is a notorious fact, that these tests were enacted, not in the wisdom, but in the folly and downright madness of the legislature and the nation. They were enacted by the same parliament which voted the reality of that chaos of absurdity called Oates's Plot, when the blood of Catholics, avowedly innocent, was libated in torrents to the national bigotry ; a period which, as Hume justly observes, “throws a great stain on “the British annals (1).” With respect to the Established Church, so far from these tests being necessary for her safety, it is precisely from the time of their being framed, that her health, which was so vigorous under Elizabeth and the first Stuarts, (when parliament and the great offices of the state were open to Catholics) began to decline into latitudinarianism and impotency. These tests, which were the effect of *delirium* in England, were the fruit of direct *perfidy* in Ireland,

(1) Hist. of Great Brit. Charles II. c. vi.

being enacted there in express violation of a solemn treaty under the great seal of state, by virtue of which treaty the Catholics gave up their allegiance to King James, their alliance with Louis XIV. (who then had ships and troops upon their shore), and the possession of Limerick, with the southern and western counties of Ireland.

Supposing, however, that it were wise and necessary to govern Ireland with the iron rod, rather than the olive sceptre, and for this purpose to keep up there the present enormous and expensive military establishment; yet, I should think, it would be prudent to remove the grievances, and to secure, at least, the attachment of the component parts of this establishment. Now two fifths of the regular soldiers, as I have stated, and four fifths of the militia are Catholics, whose religion is immoveably planted in their hearts; and who, nevertheless, (together with the sailors of their communion) are the only catholic subjects, that are not now generally at liberty to practise their own religion, but are obliged to conform to another, at which their consciences revolt! Do not talk of military discipline: no such intolerance prevails in the armies of France or Austria; in the latter, the numerous Jewish soldiers are permitted to observe even their Sabbath day; and yet I presume the French and Austrian armies are as well disciplined as our own. But I will add no more upon this subject, except a single observation, which I long since

made upon very good grounds, namely, that an Irish catholic soldier will never think he is fighting in his own cause, while the cause for which he fights, stands in opposition to the exercise of his religion.

A circumstance, still more extraordinary in my eyes, is, that the government of Ireland should countenance and encourage, by the presence and attendance of its constituted authorities (1) and its troops, those tumultuous rejoicings which take place throughout the country, on the anniversaries of the landing of King William in Torbay, and of the battles of Aughrim and the Boyne; together with a kind of worship paid to that king's statue, which if Catholics paid to the image of the world's Redeemer, would be termed idolatrous. What is the direct tendency of all this, except to encourage the few to insult the many, by way of reminding them that they are a conquered people? You have subdued them, despoiled them, and chained them; but what wise end does it answer, thus wantonly to trample on your prostrate and unresisting victims, or, to speak more properly, on your own valuable subjects, by thus celebrating a public triumph over them thrice in every year? Is there

(1) The Duke of Bedford gained great credit by absënting himself from these impolitic processions in the year 1806. His successor in the Vice-royalty, the Duke of Richmond, wisely followed his example last year, in spite of all the declamation of Mr. Gifford, and menaces of the Corporation of Dublin.

any instance of such cruel and impolitic behaviour in any civilized state of ancient or modern times ! The Romans triumphed but once over their conquered foes, and then admitted them to the full benefit of subjects. But to descend to modern times : did the French Catholics, in the zenith of their power, insult the Huguenots with public triumphs and rejoicings, on the anniversaries of the battles of Jarnac and Moncontour, when the former conquered the latter, or on that of the capture of Rochelle, when the Protestant *Imperium in Imperio* was finally crushed ? This reminds me of a query proposed by the late Tourist in Ireland (1). He asks, why the grand stone statue of his present or his late majesty, which ever it be, in the city of Cork, is painted *yellow* ; he ought to have said *orange* ? I am surprised that none of his friends should have told him, that it is intended thereby to signify, that the king is an Orangeman, and of course that he belongs to a few thousands, instead of almost as many millions of his subjects (2) !

(1) The Stranger in Ireland, by Sir John Carr.

(2) A certain noble Lord, who has filled one of the first offices in Ireland, is said to have read this passage out of the first edition of the present work, in a certain illustrious assembly on the night of last May 27, in proof that the *author* had represented the King as an *Orangeman*, and as *having authority over a few thousands, instead of as many millions of his Irish subjects* : till another noble Lord, equally distinguished by his talents and liberality, taking the book out of his hands, and repeating the whole context, convinced him that the *author* had not represented the matter in this light, but had satyriized the *Mayor and Corporation of Cork* for so representing it.

In reverence, "as well as obedience to the supreme legislative power, I will not touch upon two acts of parliament lately re-enacted at a time of profound quiet, concerning the breaking into houses in search of arms, and confining the inhabitants to their houses between sun-set and sun-rise, further than to observe, that they have filled with dismay the best disposed people, I mean modest women as well as loyal men, who remember what they heretofore experienced from the former operation of these laws. It is true, the enforcing of them depends upon the executive power, and in this is their hope: still they say, "our enemies have such facility of access to the castle, and so much greater weight there than we have, that we cannot help considering ourselves as now lying at their mercy."

I know, Sir, you are impatient to ask me the momentous question, whether, after all I have seen and heard, and reflected upon in Ireland, I am of opinion that the Irish Catholics are strictly loyal, and may be depended upon by government, under whatever circumstances may happen at the present eventful period? I will answer your question, if you will give me leave first to make two or three observations. In the first place, it is plain that government does not thus depend on them, by its introducing into parliament the two bills above alluded to, which it certainly knows have a tendency to inflame the dis-

orders they are intended to cure (1). Secondly, it appears that Mr. Grattan, and most of our other friends in the legislative assemblies, think that the Catholics cannot be entirely depended upon, by their voting for those bills. *This, this* is the blow which reached the heart of every Irish Catholic whom I conversed with. When he heard that even Grattan had consented to disturb the midnight rest of his family, and to make his house a prison to him during sixteen out of the twenty-four hours in winter, he indignantly exclaimed; *Et tu, Brute?* The loyal Irishman's only comfort at this intelligence, was in perusing the brilliant and pathetic speeches of his other countryman Sheridan. For my part, I have apologized for Mr. Grattan, and have besought my friends not to weigh one night's vote against the invaluable services of many years. "Mr. Grattan," I have said to them, "is as much your friend as ever he was; but having tried in vain to obtain for you what he conceives to be your due, he thinks it impossible you

(1) In further proof of the fears of Government, it may be remarked, that none of the various Acts of Parliament for arming the people of England in their own defence have been extended to the hardy and warlike sons of Ireland; and that no French prisoners have been confined in any part of Ireland, since the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam in 1795; though previously to that period such prisoners were indiscriminately landed and confined in either of the islands! Is not this an unnatural state of things in a common empire, and one that evidently tends to ruin! The easy remedy is in the hands of Government. Every motive of policy cries out UNITE, UNITE!

“should not resent the disappointment; and
 “therefore he wishes to hinder you from doing
 “yourselves and your country harm. In this he
 “imitates a skilful surgeon, who having fruit-
 “lessly endeavoured to disperse a dangerous hu-
 “mour, when he finds a cruel operation neces-
 “sary, binds his best friend.”——Thirdly, I
 have to observe, in spite of PATRICK DUIGE-
 NAN, (when he turned his coat, why did not
 he change his name ?) who endeavours to prove
 all his own forefathers for fourteen hundred years,
 up to the first Patrick, to have been traitors;
 that the Catholics of this realm have, in times of
 trial, manifested a principle of duty and loyalty,
 in opposition to apparent interest, which no
 other description of Christians has evinced. I
 might prove this by an appeal to the history of
 the English Protestants, during the two catholic
 reigns; of the Presbyterians of Scotland; of the
 Huguenots of France; of the Gueux of the Low
 Countries; of the Lutherans of Germany; of the
 Calvinists of Geneva and Switzerland, &c.—
 Having made these remarks, I answer your
 question by saying, that I have never heard a
 seditious or disloyal speech uttered in any of
 the numerous and diversified companies, which I
 have met with in various parts of Ireland, during
 the six weeks I have passed in it; nor have I the
 least reason to suppose that they will swerve from
 the line of conscientious duty, which the great
 body of them has hitherto followed: though per-
 haps they may not be quite so forward in volun-

teering their services, as if they had found these were more wanting, and that they themselves were better trusted. Of two things I am confident; that the stories of dangerous combinations and unlawful meetings amongst the Catholics (1), which have been propagated in the newspapers of late (2), originate in the mere bigotry and malice of their enemies; and that the Catholic Bishops and Clergy will, at all times, faithfully discharge *their* own duty, by endeavouring to keep the people steady to theirs.

I will here, Sir, close my correspondence with you from Ireland; hoping, when we meet, to hear your remarks on the several subjects of it. By way of conclusion, I will present you with an extract from a pamphlet lately published at Dublin, for the sake of the sensible and pathetic address at the end of it; which I am confident is calculated to reach both the heart and the head of every Englishman, who is not quite brutalized by

(1) Having, in my road to the south of Ireland, called, by appointment, upon a most respectable friend, to dine and pass the evening with him, accompanied by two other friends of known loyalty; (one of whom has been distinguished by such public honours for the proofs he has given of it, that few Orangemen are likely to merit the same) I afterwards found, that a messenger had been sent by some of these gentry to the Castle of Dublin, to accuse us of a seditious meeting. The charge, however, was dismissed with deserved contempt.

(2) The accompanying a funeral, an ordinary meeting to dig potatoes, the planting of a May-pole, and even the amusements of little children, in the very country I have alluded to, have been denounced to government, and published in the newspapers as insurrectionary movements!

bigotry or avarice. The author is arguing against those friends of the Catholics, who constantly dissuade them from petitioning parliament for a redress of grievances, on account of the alledged unreasonableness of the time ; when he says : “ If
 “ the friendly dissuasion is unable to fix a period
 “ at which it shall be *not wrong* to break silence ;
 “ if their friends resolve, that to attempt it this
 “ year is improper, and in the next will be dangerous, and in the third will be unusual, unnecessary, and the symptom of punishable disaffection revived.—If years of slavery roll on
 “ their generation, to the exit of their forefather, and bring to their last view the sad
 “ vision of a posterity of slaves condemned by
 “ THE GREAT OATH, which gives *freedom* to
 “ all others, is not such dissuasion the acknowledgment that forbearance would be a crime ?

“ If during this endless round of evils still
 “ great, and hope deferred, and friends not yet
 “ resolved, a mighty apparition should start up
 “ between earth and heaven, intercepting the view
 “ of the world : if lightnings blaze, and bloody
 “ meteors run through the atmosphere, and
 “ shouts approach, that ‘SLAVERY IS NO
 “ MORE :’ if the *sufferers*, as they will do, reject the *unholy* invitation, and offer to die
 “ with the brothers who *afflicted*, rather than
 “ live with the aliens who *court* them : with what
 “ consistency shall it be said to those deluded,
 “ broken-hearted reptiles : Come on, brave men,
 “ and fight for *our* common freedom !”

May they not well answer to this call : “ We
 “ will fight for you, and let Providence judge our
 “ cause, and see our distress. If *you* conquer
 “ with us, our doom is perpetual. The consti-
 “ tution will be saved, and *you* say it excludes
 “ us everlastingly. If *you* are vanquished, you
 “ will be spared with honour ; you had fought
 “ for the dearest thing to man, which those
 “ enemies came to wrest. But while they spare
 “ you, they will exterminate *us* for safety and
 “ for example. We shall fight as slaves, and we
 “ shall perish as traitors (1) !”

(1) Remarks on the Protestant Barrister's Vindication, &c. by a Catholic of Dublin, pp. 71, 72.



APPENDIX.



LETTER I.

TO A CATHOLIC MERCHANT OF WATERFORD.

At Sea, August 12, 1807.

DEAR SIR,

YOUR kind anxiety for the success of my voyage to my native island, made you wish to hear the particulars of it; and your impatience at the interruption of our conversation concerning chapel-building, induced me to pro-

mise you, that I would resume the subject in writing as soon as possible : I therefore take up the pen here on shipboard, by way of beginning my two-fold task; hoping, with God's permission, to finish on the opposite coast, which there is every appearance, from the state of the weather, that I shall reach in the course of twelve hours.

My journey from your city to the station of the Milford Packet at Cheek Point, was the most unpleasant I had experienced since my arrival in Ireland, from the reflection that it was the last I was to take, at least for a considerable time, in a country so interesting in itself, and so dear to me, for the numerous and valuable friends I was leaving behind me, in every part of it which I had visited. Impressed with these ideas, I strayed on the shore of the grand estuary, where the united currents of the Suire, the Barrow, and the Nore, mingle with the briny waves of St. George's Channel; and my melancholy was far from being relieved by contemplating the magnificent ruins of Dunbrody Abbey on the opposite side of the harbour. I felt indignant at the memory of that sacrilegious tyrant, who could envy good men and loyal subjects the privilege of worshipping God in peace and retirement; and I was mortified, that the state of the tide would not allow me to visit those instructive remains, for the improvement of my heart as well as of my knowledge.

My reverend friend and myself came on board the vessel yesterday evening, and were the only

passengers in it. But the sky threatening a squall, which actually took place in the night, the captain would not sail till four o'clock this morning. The weather is now moderate. There is wind enough to make us spoom briskly through the waves, and there is sea enough to give spirit to the sailing: for the worst kind of prison is that of being on shipboard in a mill-pond. Already have the pleasant coasts of Tramore Bay disappeared to my view, and Hook Head itself is quickly flying from me. While thus I cast a farewell look on the land of my catholic brethren, and offer up a prayer to *God the Father of all men*(1), for their welfare, a number of affecting thoughts, relating to their singular history and situation, present themselves to my mind, which I cannot help here giving vent to, by committing them to writing.

I reflect on the long-continued and uninterrupted sufferings of your countrymen; no other christian nation having been for so long a time, and without remission, subject to such successive calamities and degradations as yours has been. Other races of men have occasionally been visited by misfortunes and disgrace: my proud countrymen, in particular, have twice been bowed so low by the yoke of foreign conquest, as to drink the very dregs of human misery, and even to be ashamed of the name of Englishmen. But each of these disgraces was of short duration. Canute,

(1) Malac. ii. 10.

the son of the sanguinary tyrant Swaine, wisely repressed the injustice and insolence of his Danish countrymen, and placed his English subjects on a perfect equality with them. In like manner Henry, the son of the Norman Conqueror, left no means untried to make the English forget that they were a conquered people. The success of this policy was equal to the wisdom of it: for, whereas his father had subdued England with an army of Normans, he himself subdued Normandy with an army of Englishmen. In a word, the calamities of England, both foreign and domestic, like those of other christian states, have been of a temporary nature, whereas those of Ireland seem to have been perpetual. I look in vain for the period of her greatness and glory, commensurate with her physical strength, wealth, situation, and other advantages: or rather, to come nearer to the idea of national as well as individual happiness, I look in vain for the period, when the Irish, sitting in their native woods and cabins, could eat the produce of their herds and gardens, and enjoy the comforts of their religion unmolested by others, and at peace among themselves. On the contrary, I see nothing in their history but a succession of civil wars, foreign invasions, conquests, oppression, and religious persecution; the latter still multiplying and refining its modes of injuring and tormenting, down to the very

commencement of his present Majesty's reign (1). What has added a sharpness to your sufferings on the score of religion, is that you have had to endure them at the hands of a people who are the avowed patrons of religious as well as civil freedom, and who, in fact, have left every other description of subjects to invent and follow new modes of religion at their pleasure, whilst they have been employed, during almost three centuries, in endeavouring to extort from you the original faith which your ancestors received, with the very name of Christ, 1400 years ago, at a time when their own forefathers were worshipping Thor and Woden in the forests of Scandinavia.

(1) Two causes have evidently and perhaps equally contributed to the national misery of the Irish; their own inconsiderate heats and endless divisions, and the insatiable avarice and cruelty of their enemies. Ever since the reign of Elizabeth, there has been a party bent on the extirpation of the native Irish. Charles I. complained of it in his time, reproaching his governors in Ireland with "threatening the last extremities to the whole community of the nation, and resolving to destroy, root and branch, men, women, and children." *Εἰκὸν Βασιλική*, Art. 12.—It is certain that Cromwell, Coote, Ireton, and the other Puritan Officers of those times, pursued this plan to the utmost of their power, professing that they rendered glory to God by exterminating idolatrous Papists. There is reason to think that the persons who secretly encouraged the outrages in Armagh in 1795, and those which lately prevailed in the county of Limerick, speculated on the hopes of a general Catholic rebellion. Conversing on this subject the other day with a well educated Irish gentleman, he exclaimed: "That is the right way with the Papists, to force them to meet us in the field."

These severe and long-continued sufferings, no doubt, have proved a subject of complaint and scandal to many of your countrymen. Those which the people of Italy had to endure 1200 years ago, scandalized the ancient Irish, as we learn from their correspondence with the contemporary Pope, St. Gregory the Great (1). The saint, in return, admonished them, in the words of scripture, that *God chastiseth every child whom he loveth*. Indeed, how frequently, or rather generally, was God's chosen people of old in affliction and humiliation! What did they not suffer in the bondage of Egypt, in the captivity of Babylon, from the persecuting sword of the Greeks, and the iron yoke of the Romans! They were really the most enlightened people on the face of the earth, in consequence of their possessing the revealed truths of heaven; yet, in what contempt and detestation were they not held by their conquerors! What sarcasms and invectives do not the brightest and most liberal

(1) Regist. Epist. St. Greg. Mag. Lib. ix. Ep. 61. Its address is as follows: "Gregorius Quirino Episcopo, cæterisque Episcopis in "Hibernia Catholicis." From this letter, it appears that the bishops in Ireland were, at the end of the 6th century, under the same mistake, concerning the intricate question of the Three Chapters, as their countryman, St. Columbanus, was at the same period in Burgundy. Nevertheless, as their error evidently proceeded from mere misinformation, *with respect to a fact*, which they were disposed to quit, as they actually did, upon being better informed from due authority, the holy Pope addresses them and treats them as orthodox Catholics.

minds of pagan antiquity, a Tully, for example (1), and a Tacitus (2), pour forth against them and their religion ! It was the same with Christianity and Christians, during the three first centuries of the Church ; that is to say, during the golden ages. What stupid bigots, and what odious criminals, are not the followers of the divine Jesus represented to have been, by the philosophic Tacitus and Pliny, and by the imperial Dioclesian and Julian. We, nevertheless, know that a poor but consistent christian slave was more truly wise and enlightened, as well as infinitely more virtuous, than was the whole collection of these philosophers and emperors !

Considering the subject of national sufferings with reference to these facts ; and reflecting, in particular, how generally God's people of old abandoned him in their prosperity, and returned to him in their calamities ; may we not suppose, that God has made use of the long continued temporal afflictions of your people, as the means, in his hands, of preserving them in that inviolable attachment to the faith which they first received,

(1) Cicero, in his Oration pro L. Flacco, calls the religion of the Jews, "Barbara superstitio," and Jerusalem itself, "Maledica civitas," adding : "Stantibus Hierosolymis, peccatisque Judæis, tamen istorum religio sacrorum á splendore hujus imperii, gravitate nominis nostri, majorum que institutis abhorrebat : nunc vero hoc magis quod illa gens, quid de nostro imperio sentiret, ostendit armis : quam cara Diis immortalibus esset docuit quod est victa, quod elocata, quod servata (*observata*)."

(2) Tacit. Hist. L. v.

and in that general disposition to piety, for which they have been celebrated by ecclesiastical historians and writers, from Venerable Bede down to Pope Benedict XIV, (1) as surpassing other Christian nations! There is one circumstance relative to the religion of the Irish Catholics, which seems almost peculiar to them; namely, that it makes an indelible impression, not only upon those who live up to its precepts, but also upon those who disgrace it by their conduct. The consequence is, that there are always much better hopes of reclaiming a profligate Irish Catholic during his life time, or else of his spontaneous repentance previous to his death, than there are with respect to wicked Christians of other countries. Whether this be owing to a peculiar mercy towards your people, as our ancient historians, English (2) as well as Irish tell us, or rather to the care of their pastors, in deeply imprinting the maxims of the gospel on their infant minds, the fact is indisputable; as most of those who have

(1) In Epist. ad Archiep. and Ep. Heb. die 15 Aug. A. D. 1741. Vid. Hibern. Dominicanam, p. 21.

(2) "Undecim diebus, totidemque noctibus (S. Patricius) in cacumine montis Eli jejunavit, id est Cruachanelli; in quo colle in aere tres petitiones pro his Hibernensibus, qui fidem Christi reciperent, clementer postulavit. Prima ejus petitio fuit, ut fertur a Scotis, quod unusquisque receperet penitentiam credentium, licet in extremo vitæ suæ. Secunda, ne a barbaris consumerentur in aeternum. Tertia, ut non supervivat aliquis credentium in adventu judicii." Nennius Histor. Britonum. Vide etiam Mat. West. an. 491.

had much experience in the sacred ministry, particularly in death-bed scenes, can testify as well as myself.

After all, Sir, I grant we must not pretend to trace, with any thing like certainty, the inscrutable ways of the Almighty, and it is evidently in the order of his providence (as the example of the saints and the doctrine of the Church, expressed in her liturgy, prove) to seek for peace and tranquillity, by procuring the redress of our temporal evils, when it is in our power to obtain them. On the same principle, we are bound to entertain a sense of gratitude towards those persons who have been instrumental in conferring these temporal blessings upon us; and therefore towards his Majesty, and many other distinguished characters now living, whom it is unnecessary to name. The civil advantages, which the Catholics have obtained during the present reign, have certainly been very great, and it is frequently asserted (though chiefly, I believe, by those persons who are sorry we have obtained any benefit at all), that all the positive grievances of the Catholics are redressed, and hence, that they have attained to the *ne plus ultra* of their constitutional claims; in a word, that it is no penalty or hardship to be deprived of those further privileges, which the law (with what consistency I do not inquire) has reserved for persons who do not believe Transubstantiation.

Supposing, for the sake of the argument, that

all positive penal laws against Catholics were actually redressed (1), yet we are the best, because we are experimental judges, whether the mere exclusive laws against us, do or do not act as penalties. I should be glad to ask one of these ethical politicians, if, in consequence of some whimsical exclusive law regarding the colour of his hair, or some other circumstance totally irrelevant to his civil and social duties, he found himself held in contempt as a person not to be trusted, or placed on their level by persons of his own rank, whether, in this case, he would not feel he was suffering from a law both penal and unjust? In short, if disgrace be not a penalty, where is the suffering of standing for a short time in the pillory? That Catholics, and particularly Irish Catholics, do experience this contemptuous treatment from their fellow subjects, in consequence of the partiality of the laws, constant experience proves. Heretofore, when the latter were excluded from the benefit of the laws, and when it was held no crime to kill a mere Irishman, they were supposed by the vulgar to be Ouran-outangs, or brutes of some species or other, and accordingly

(1) That the torture itself is not yet entirely laid aside in Ireland may be gathered from a criminal information received in the Court of King's Bench, Dublin, a few months ago, against a magistrate, for scourging a young man till he fainted, and then confining him, without medical assistance, till his back became ulcerated. This was done to force the prisoner to confess a petty theft of which he could not otherwise be convicted.—See *Globe*, May 6, 1858.

scores of affidavits were made by serious religious Englishmen, from the testimony of their own eye sight, that the Irish people were found to have tails growing from their bodies, a quarter of a yard long (1). At present, when the laws are more equitable, and are content with requiring that no Irish Catholic shall be entrusted to carry a military dispatch in quality of aid-de-camp, or to summon a jury as an under-sheriff, the old Irish are no longer thought to have wings and tails, but are barely looked upon as a race of savages. Accordingly the term *Wild Irish* is as familiar in the English language, as that of *Wild Beasts*.

But the particular exclusion of Catholics from the offices of sheriff and under sheriff, is not a mere disgrace, as you well know, for it is attended with the most serious ill consequences, as your countrymen frequently experience. In like manner the existence of an "Incorporated Society for promoting Protestant Schools," is the continuation of one of the most odious and fatal kinds of persecution devised by the religi-

(1) See Hay's History of the Insurrection, last page, and the authorities quoted by him. This opinion of the original Irish having tails, seems to have been generally propagated by the Puritans in the reign of Charles I. in order to diminish the horror of slaughtering them. Cromwell himself had recourse to another expedient. He undertook to prove to his soldiers, that it was a meritorious act in them to exterminate the Irish nation, from the example of Joshua and the Israelites destroying the tribes of Canaan. See Anderson's Royal Genealog. p. 786.

ous politicians of the last century. In fact, how much more wise a thing would it be, to employ fifty or sixty thousand pounds, a great part of which is raised upon the Catholics themselves (1), in buying up the tithes of the poor, than in purchasing their children, and educating them to hate and persecute their fathers, mothers, and brothers. Our statesmen complain of the violent animosity which actuates the different religionists in Ireland: but are not they themselves, in a great measure, the cause of it, while they lavish the public money upon such institutions as the Charter Schools? For my part, I cannot help thinking, that this is the case; from knowing the heart-burning which these schools provoke among the Catholics, and the spirit of contempt, hatred, and resentment, which these seminaries labour to infuse into their purchased victims against their relations and countrymen. I have now lying before me, what is called, **THE PROTESTANT CATECHISM** of the **INCORPORATED SOCIETY**, as also that of the Catholic Metropolitans, called the **GENERAL CATECHISM**, both of them lately republished. A slight comparison between these clearly shews the different spirits by which they have been dictated. The former industriously

(1) 25,000 l. or rather, I believe, 30,000 l. are annually voted for the Charter-schools. The landed property belonging to the public must amount to as much, or probably to a great deal more.

instils into its pupils an abhorrence of the Catholics as idolaters, a hatred of them as traitors, and a dread of them as murderers ! In defiance of common charity, of the repeated declarations and acts of the legislature, and of constant actual experience, it teaches the catholic infants, whom its patrons have purloined, that, “the
 “ papists (namely their parents as well as other
 “ Catholics) hold that faith is not to be kept
 “ with heretics, and that the Pope can absolve
 “ subjects from their oath of allegiance to sove-
 “ reigns (1).” It instructs them to believe that these their parents, together with the rest of Catholics, firmly believe that those “who differ
 “ from them,” and of course these very children, are to be “rooted out by fire and sword.” To strengthen this opinion, the misrepresented histories of Queen Mary’s persecution (2), and of

(1) Protestant Catechism of the Incorporated Society, Part ii. p. 9. 4th ed.

(2) I have always lamented and condemned the persecutions in Mary’s reign. It must, nevertheless, be remembered, that deprived, as she had been, of her hereditary throne, by Cranmer, Ridley, Sandys, Poynt, Dudley, and the other heads of the Reformation, she never persecuted any of them, till two years afterwards, when they set on foot a second rebellion against her, under Wyat, &c. Such was the case in England ; in the mean time, the Protestants in Ireland remaining quiet, were never once molested during the whole of this catholic reign, though it is evident they might have been exterminated by a word speaking.—“The Irish Roman Catholic bigot !” exclaims the eloquent Parnell: “The Irish Roman Catholics are the only sect that ever resumed power without exercising
 “ vengeance.” Hist. Apolog. p. 47.

the Irish massacre (1), are exhibited to the frightened imagination of the poor infants. In the mean time the important duties of citizens, subjects, and Christians, are hardly so much as hinted at throughout the whole Catechism.—How different, in all these respects, is the code of christian and moral institutes, which the Catholic Prelates of Ireland have drawn up, for the instruction of their unbought pupils! In this there is no mention of the numerous and revolting blasphemies and immoralities with which the works of Luther and Calvin abound; no notice of the perfidy, treason, and rebellion taught and practised by Cranmer, Ridley, Knox, and every other patriarch of the reformation, in the several countries where it has prevailed; there is not so much as a hint of the countless hosts of catholic victims whom Protestantism has immo-

(1) No part of Irish history has been more maliciously misrepresented than that of the year 1641. If the Irish Catholics took up arms, let it be remembered that the English Protestants and the Scotch Presbyterians had previously taken up arms; but with this difference, the Catholics armed in their own defence and in defence of their sovereign, the Protestants and Presbyterians armed for the destruction of both, and they succeeded in bringing the King to the scaffold. 2dly, If in the confusion and horrors of the civil war in Ireland many Protestants were murdered by a lawless Catholic banditti, an infinitely greater number of Catholics were slaughtered in cold blood by Protestants; and the latter were the first to begin the diabolical work of massacre, as Clarendon owns; namely, in the island Magee, where near 3000 unarmed and peaceable men, women, and children were murdered, mostly in their sleep. See the trial of the R. Catholics of Ireland, by Henry Brooke, Esq.; also Dr. Curry's History of the Civil Wars of Ireland, vol. i. book 5.

lated, in the pure spirit of religious persecution, in England, France, Germany, and especially in Ireland, during the reigns of Elizabeth, James I. Charles I. and Oliver Cromwell. Instead of copying, in these particulars, the example of the dignified authors and patrons of the Protestant Catechism, the Catholic Prelates have framed their Catechism, to enforce the general duties of Christians, subjects and citizens, particularly with respect to submission to lawful authority (1), and charity (2) to all mankind.—The attention of our great statesmen is otherwise taken up (3) (though it is a question whether it

(1) Question. What are the duties of subjects to the temporal powers? Answ. To be subject to them, to honour and obey them, *not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake; for such is the will of God,* 1 Pet. ii.—Q. Is it sinful to resist or combine against established authorities, or to speak with contempt or disrespect of those who rule over us? A. Yes. St. Paul says: *Let every soul be subject to the higher powers; he that resisteth the power resisteth God's ordinance: and they that resist, purchase to themselves damnation,* Rom. xiii. General Catech. Lesson xvii. p. 29.

(2) Q. Who is my neighbour, whom I am bound to love? A. Mankind of every description, and without any exception of persons; even those who injure us, and differ from us in religion.—Q. What particular duties are required of you by that rule? A. Never to injure your neighbour by word or deed, in his person, property, or character; to wish well to him, to pray for him, and always to assist him, as far as you are able, in his spiritual and corporeal necessities. Lesson xix. p. 34. ed. 4.

(3) Soon after the first edition of these Letters, the subject of the Protestant Charter Schools in Ireland, particularly with respect to their religious instructions, was taken up in Parliament by the liberal and well informed H. Parnel, Esq. The Hon. Member compared together the lessons of the Charter School Catechism with those of the Catholic Catechism (of both which he held copies in his hands)

can be taken up with a matter of greater importance), or else I should be glad to ask them, whether, after this brief view of the doctrine and spirit of the Irish Protestant, and the Irish Catholic Catechism, they really think it is for the benefit of the state, to pay 60,000*l.* every year (1), in order to get a certain number of catholic children instructed in the former, rather than in the latter? And secondly, Whether it would not be more wise to employ that sum in paying the tythe-tax of the poor cottagers; thus enabling them to rear their own children, and instruct them in their own catechism? I would say one word more to the illustrious personages in question, if I had an opportunity, to the following effect: "As far, my Lords and Gentlemen, as
 " relates to exciting the hatred and detestation
 " of the charter-school children, and the other
 " uninterested Protestants of Ireland against its
 " general population; no doubt these public

in much the same manner as they are contrasted above. The consequence was that the former was universally reprobated, and the sale of it stopped, so that now a copy of it is not to be had at any price. A Rt. Hon. Minister is reported to have said, by way of a set off, that, "after all, the condemned Catechism is better than Paine's
 " works, which," he said, "are taught in the catholic schools." No assertion can be more calumnious. Our Bishops and Clergy abhor the works of Paine even more than they do those of Duigenan and Musgrave.

(2) This computation will not appear extravagant, when to the parliamentary grant are added the annual bequests, gifts, rents, and dividends, and the support of the Bluecoat Hospital, &c.

“ charges of perfidy, disloyalty, barbarity, and
 “ idolatry (1), answer their purpose. This, how-
 “ ever, I know you consider as an evil, rather
 “ than a benefit. But, with respect to the ob-
 “ ject which you so earnestly wish for, namely,
 “ that all your subjects should be of one reli-
 “ gion, and that the religion of the state ; be
 “ assured that neither the Irish Protestant Ca-
 “ techism, nor the Bishop of London’s Confu-
 “ tation of Popery, nor De Coetlogan’s Abo-
 “ minations of the Church of Rome, nor all the
 “ interpretations of the Revelations, either by
 “ learned Warburtonian lecturers (2), or un-
 “ learned country clergymen, ever gain one sin-
 “ gle proselyte from the Catholics in either island.
 “ The fact is, Catholics of every description are
 “ perfectly conscious, they have been taught a
 “ creed diametrically opposite to that, on which
 “ the objections of these adversaries are ground-
 “ ed. What the arguments really are, which,
 “ from time to time, cause certain catholic no-
 “ blemen, gentlemen, and clergymen, to aban-
 “ don the religion of their ancestors, need not be
 “ pointed out to you : since the general behavi-

(1) Prot. Catech. Part iv. p. 24.

(2) Bishop Warburton has left a salary for a preacher, to prove every year at Lincoln’s Inn Chapel, that the Pope is Antichrist ; who, if he should succeed in his argument, would prove at the same time, that he himself, together with the founder of his lecture, had borrowed his orders, his liturgy, and his Christianity, from this chief agent of Satan.

“ our of these persons during their lives, and
 “ more particularly at their death, sufficiently
 “ manifests them. Let it suffice to say, that
 “ these are so well understood among Catholics,
 “ that even when the pastor of a numerous flock
 “ has conformed to the established church, and
 “ has published writings to induce them to fol-
 “ low his example, he has not succeeded with a
 “ single individual amongst them (1) ; no not
 “ even with one amongst his own servants. On
 “ the other hand, that these arguments are not
 “ unknown to Protestants, Dr. Duigenan is a
 “ witness beyond all exception (2).”

But the examination of the Catechism of the Incorporated Society, which was sent to me by a friend a few days ago, has caused me to digress widely from my subject : I therefore return to the consideration of it, but that only for a few minutes longer. It is perfectly inconceivable to my mind, that men of sense and candour should so often assert, and that even in their solemn parliamentary speeches, that there is no positive grievance of the Catholics left unredressed, when they cannot help knowing, from being so often

(1) Some years ago the priest of Worcester, the Rev. H. Wharton, conformed to the establishment, and published a book to justify his conduct ; as did also the Rev. Mr. Hawkins, another priest, who then resided at Worcester ; but not a single Catholic abandoned his religion. Every one knew the motives of these priests ; their conduct sufficiently bespoke them.

(2) See above, p. 70.

reminded of it, (I myself have been reminding them of it in various publications during these twenty years (1), that catholic soldiers and sailors, at the present time, to the number of more than 200,000 men, are not yet free to practise their own religion, and are forced, under the pain of military punishment, to conform to a worship repugnant to their consciences. What adds a fresh sting to this persecution is, that it is exercised in the teeth of an act of parliament, namely, the act of 1793. This act makes it lawful to every Irish subject, except about forty individuals, to profess and practise the catholic religion; but in the first place, if the soldier, in obedience to orders, crosses the sea, whether to Britain, Gibraltar, the West Indies, or any other British settlement, he is immediately informed, that his act of parliament is of no force there. Secondly, while even he remains in Ireland, his officer, if he is an Orangeman, or otherwise of an intolerant or irreligious disposition, fails not to answer him, when he pleads the privilege of the act of 1793: "I know nothing of your act of parliament, but I know that the first article of war requires you to attend the established worship; and go to it you shall,

(1) See a Sermon on the Recovery of his Majesty, preached at Winchester, April 23, 1807.—I have never ceased, since that period, in various publications and private memorials to men in power, to urge this grievance. The time is come when it must be redressed.

“ or to prison and the halberts.”—I am astonished that men of reflection should not see, how unwise it is to leave so dangerous a weapon as that I have been pointing out, to be taken up, in a moment of danger, by a Hoche or a Humbert ! (1)

(1) This paragraph, asserting that catholic soldiers and sailors are still subject to religious persecution, has called forth the strongest invectives against me in Faulkner's Journal, the European Magazine, the Belfast News, &c. from a Gentleman of Newry, who signs himself William Henry Pratt.—I wish to my heart he could prove me to be in an error, by demonstrating that the above-mentioned defenders of our country are free to serve God according to the dictates of their consciences ; but though Lord Muskerry (whom he names) and many other officers, behave to their catholic soldiers in the article of religion with a wise and liberal policy ; yet this is far from being the general case ; and it is a fact so notorious, that catholic soldiers are almost every where in England, and in a great many parts of Ireland, constrained by their officers to attend the established worship, contrary to their consciences, that it does not stand in need of any other proof. Mr. Pratt quotes the first article of war, to shew that nothing more is required of the soldiers than “ to frequent divine service ;” but he carefully suppresses the following clause, requiring them to “ frequent divine service and sermon, *in the places appointed for the assembling of the regiment, troop, or company to which they belong ;*” (which places certainly are not catholic chapels.) He omits also the clause which subjects soldiers so absenting themselves to “ the forfeiture of 12 pence for the first offence, and to be laid in irons for 12 hours for the second.” He moreover omits the whole 5th article which subjects the soldier to “ the punishment of death for disobeying the lawful command of his officer,” such as that of attending divine service is there supposed to be.—About three years ago, when Messrs. Fox and Windham were in power, great pains were taken to get the following clause : “ Or some other place of worship licensed according to law,” annexed to the aforesaid clause ; and this addition was understood to have obtained the assent of every member of the cabinet, when the circumstance coming to the knowledge of a certain

This, however, my dear friend, and all your other grievances put together, are a mere trifle, compared with the wide wasting, exterminating persecution, with which you are threatened by a man who, from his connections, is supposed to be one of the most powerful men in the empire, and who lately filled one of the first situations in your island. Yes, if the Legislature could be persuaded to follow up, and the public to approve of, the plans of the nobleman I allude to, Ireland would become, in the reign of George III. a scene of more horrible carnage, than it was in those of Elizabeth and Oliver Cromwell. What he professedly aims at, is the new-modelling of your unchangeable form of ecclesiastical government. He is bent upon the annihilation of all Catholic Metropolitans, Bishops, and even Parish Priests ; for no other reason, than because the state has chosen to adopt this same apostolical form of government for the Established Church. Following up this rule, he must equally forbid the use of our Missal and Breviary, because the Common Prayer Book is almost entirely taken out of them. Again, he is resolved upon depriving the Catholic Church, of the es-

illustrious but short-sighted young man, he found means to defeat the measure.—Mr. Pratt accuses me of disloyalty, in pointing out “the danger of leaving so powerful a weapon to be taken up by “an enemy in the hour of danger.”—My answer is, that a traitor does not inform his officers of a weak part which he has discovered in the fortifications he was ordered to defend ; but he informs the enemy of it, or he leaves the latter to find it out.

essential and inalienable rights of every society, that of excluding atrocious and refractory offenders from its communion. But to make short of this matter : it is impossible the learned author of the present scheme should be ignorant, that the innovations which he here proposes, go to far greater lengths of schism, than those contained in the famous **CIVIL CONSTITUTION OF THE CLERGY**, enacted by the French national assembly ; the enforcing of which constitution caused the murder of 24,000 clergymen, and the banishment of 64,000 others, independently of lay sufferers, without accomplishing its object. Nor has this personage any reason to suppose, that the Catholic Bishops and Priests, and Laity of Ireland, if called upon to suffer the extremity of the law in defence of their religion, would shew less firmness than their brethren in France have done.

But while bigotry thus threatens you on one side, irreligion, half serious and half jocose, assaults you on the other. Your celebrated chronologist, Archbishop Usher, with some of his followers, near two centuries ago, endeavoured to persuade your fathers, that your apostle St. Patrick, and your other holy bishops, abbots, monks, and hermits, during several centuries, were not Catholics, but Protestants. The method, however, that he adopted for this purpose, which consisted in distorting and misrepresenting the tenets of the ancient fathers and doctors, was, as a late writer says, " A terrible

way of defending Protestantism (1).” Accordingly, it is at the present day completely given up. But a still more daring attempt upon your ancient faith, is now made by one of your degenerate countrymen, a Dr. Ledwich ; in denying the very existence of that apostle, to whom he himself, no less than you, is indebted for being a Christian. What he would have you believe is, that no such man as St. Patrick ever had a being, but that, somehow or other, the ecclesiastical writers of the *ninth* century, in England, Ireland, France, Germany, and Italy, conspired together, in order to make the world believe that there had existed such a personage four centuries earlier, namely, in the *fifth* century, and that this personage converted the Irish nation to the faith of Christ. Dr. Ledwich tells you, moreover, that the plot succeeded completely, and that it was never discovered till he, Dr. Ledwich, wrote his book. Insulting as these paradoxes are to common sense : outrageous as they are to the honour of literature ; yet, in an age of novels and newspapers, they have gained credit with several writers ; and it is easy to foresee, that if they are not opposed, they will, on the joint credit of their novelty and irreligion, become fashionable opinions ! There is no danger that you, or your catholic friends, will take up with these particular extra-

(1) See the General and Biographical Dictionary, Art. Usher.

vagances of Dr. Ledwich (1). You are not likely to discard your great apostle St. Patrick to the region of "fictitious pagan deities," without the shadow of an argument, upon the authority and recommendation of Dr. Ledwich: but I take this opportunity of cautioning you against trusting to this writer as an antiquary upon any subject whatsoever that he treats of; assuring you that his book, called *The Antiquities of Ireland*, is chiefly distinguished by the singularity and extravagance of the opinions which it contains, and the confidence and disingenuousness of the author in supporting them.

But I must here apprise you, that I have treated the subjects last mentioned, and indeed most of the others here touched upon, at much greater length in a series of letters, which I have addressed from your island to a friend of mine in England; and as I am convinced the perusal of them would afford some pleasure to you and my other numerous friends in your island, and some useful information on several important points, to many

(1) It appears, however, that even the late Catholic Historian of Ireland, O'Halloran, for want of knowing better, has been seduced into the fashionable error of attributing the conversion of Ireland to Asiatic preachers, in consequence of the wrong calculation of Easter, which for some time prevailed in it.—He was ignorant that the British and Irish Christians *originally* conformed to the practice of the Roman and other churches in this point, as I have proved; also that they *never* were *Quartodecimans*, as Bede expressly asserts; finally, that the latter were too small and inconsiderable a sect to send missionaries out of Syria into distant countries to make proselytes.

persons who stand greatly in need of it, in the country to which I am hastening, I am strongly inclined to get these letters back into my hands, in order to revise and publish them. Should I do this, I am aware it will be to my own cost ; as I am sensible what an outcry they will occasion against me. One clergyman will preach and print a sermon, of which I and my writings shall form the subject matter, for the beginning, the middle, and the end (1). Another will probably snatch up some half sentence, and having dragged it out of its context, and dressed it up in his own malicious comments, will hold it up to the public, as a specimen of my immoral or seditious doctrine. In vain shall I protest against the caricature ; in vain shall I appeal to the whole tenor of my doctrine ; he will stun me and the public with repeated vociferations : “I hold you to your own words.—Fire shall not burn this out of me.” Such is the language of my late and most voluminous antagonist. I had not such an adversary to deal with when I wrote my former letters (2) ; for Dr. Sturges is both a gentleman and a scholar (3). It is

(1) See the Sermon preached before the University of Oxford, at St. Mary's, Nov. 5, 1805.

(2) Letters to a Prebendary.

(3) Whilst this work is in the press, I hear with regret of the death of that respectable and learned gentleman.

“ Spargite flores, &c.——

“ His saltem accumulem donis et fungar inani

“ Munere.”

is true, he tried the strength of his pen, and his friends tried their weight in parliament; while other friends tried the efficacy of certain specific arguments upon me, which are generally found convincing; still there was in that controversy no contemptible quibbling, no indecorous brawling, no confident impugning of the known truth. From adversaries who can descend to take up these weapons, I must ever turn with disgust, hoping that they are not employed nor abetted, by persons of greater respectability than themselves.

There is, however, another set of combatants, whom, though they should make use of the most unfair weapons, it is not lawful for us authors to despise; I mean, the Minos's, the Æacus's, and the Rhadamanthus's of the regions of literature. Now, as I am provided with no golden bough, nor medicated sop, I can expect nothing but the severest sentence for my present bold intrusion into their domains. The latter I believe to be more essentially requisite, and might alone suffice to secure me from the severity of the two parties into which the dusky quorum is divided. To speak without figure: if in issuing these letters to the public, I would but compound with the religion and irreligion of the times; if I would but make a few slight sacrifices of the cause which I support, I make no doubt I should find my own private account in the reports of the Reviewers, and even the Antijacobin might once more speak favour-

ably of a Papist (1). But, with God's help, I hope to keep on my steady course till the end of it, in the pursuit of truth alone; content with no other reward, for the present, than that of my own conscience.

I find I must reserve for another letter the subject of ecclesiastical architecture, which I had originally designed should have been the principal matter of this. I shall therefore, by way of finishing with you at present, take the liberty of giving you, and our other friends, a few words of advice.—Circumstances then, dear Sir, have certainly been irritating; the times are critical and eventful; but, for heaven's sake, keep yourselves cool: a great part of your past miseries have been owing to the intemperate warmth of some of your countrymen. Be patient: for it is unquestionably better "to bear the ills we have, than fly to others that we know not of." Remind the poor people, over whom your influence extends, of the accumulated misery which too many of them drew upon themselves nine years ago, by listening to the exaggerated histories,

(1) How did this Review cheer me and praise me, when I published the first volume of my History of Winchester, as may be seen by looking back to its numbers for February and March 1791. But now, I make no doubt, it will discover that I am ignorant, stupid, and even a Jacobin. Still they are not my talents nor my sentiments, but the interests of the Antijacobin which have undergone a change.—Since the first edition of these letters, I have given the Review in question fresh cause of offence, by proving that its proper title now is *Jacobin*, not *Antijacobin*. See the Supplement to Sir John Hippisley's Additional Observations.

false alarms, and delusive promises of anarchists and agitators, of different manners and habits, and of a different creed from their own; men who sought not the relief of the people, but their own aggrandizement and emolument. They excited and fanned the flame, and then, seeking their safety in flight, they left it to be extinguished in the blood of their deluded victims.—If I had the voice of thunder, I would cry throughout your island, at this momentous period in particular: “Irishmen, be cool: command your temper. Your evils are working their own cure: they can last but a very little time longer. In a word, increasing, as you are, so rapidly in number, wealth, and influence, you must find your proper level in society, and your weight in the scale of the empire. Those statesmen who pretend to fix the *ne plus ultra* of your privileges, at any point whatever, short of those enjoyed by the rest of your fellow subjects, might just as well usurp omnipotence, and say to the flowing tide: *hither shalt thou come, but no further: and here shall thy proud waves be stayed* (1).”

In a word, be loyal; remembering the obligation incumbent upon us all, both by the natural and the divine law, of being *subject to the higher powers—not only for wrath but also for conscience sake*; and of *rendering to all their dues: tribute to whom tribute is due, custom to whom custom, fear*

(1) Job xxxviii. 11.

to whom fear, honour to whom honour (1). Remember also the additional obligation of loyalty we have contracted, by the strict oath of allegiance which we have taken. We are constantly accused of making the apparent interest of our religion the only rule of our loyalty; but the history of Christendom, during the three last centuries, demonstrates the falsehood of this charge, and shews that it may be retorted on those who bring it. Let one example suffice: when Edward VI. died, was there a single reformer of any eminence who was not engaged in Lady Jane's rebellion? When Mary died, was there a single Catholic (and the nation was then almost all Catholic) to oppose the succession of Elizabeth.

But, whilst I exhort you to be faithful to your sovereign, let me not forget to admonish you of the fidelity you owe to your God. You will gather from what I have already said, that I consider your approaching emancipation, as an event which is likely to be trying to your religious constancy and piety. To speak the truth, I think I see, that the very prospect of this change makes a few individuals affect an air of latitudinarianism, totally inconsistent with the tenets of catholicity, and, in particular, disposes them to barter away the inalienable *spiritual* rights of the Church for their own *temporal* advantage.

(1) Rom. xiii.

The system of indemnification, at the expense of the Church, has of late been acted upon to a great extent upon the continent of Europe. But then they were only temporal possessions which were thus disposed of: whereas, in the instance to which I allude, the vital interests of Christ's spiritual kingdom have been held up to sale, by those who never had, nor can have, a right to dispose of them. Nevertheless, whatever may be the disposition and conduct of a few individuals, I trust, in the divine protection, that the great majority of the Irish Catholics, under all circumstances, whether prosperous or adverse, will, in conformity with their conduct, during the fourteen past centuries, continue faithful in the belief and practice of every tittle of their unchangeable religion, till the very end of time: or rather, till the day previous to it, when, if the prayer of St. Patrick, upon mount Chruachaneli was heard, the vast Atlantic will cause Ireland to disappear from the face of the globe, in order to spare his beloved children the experience of those horrors, which Christ tells us, will cause men to *wither away for fear*, and cry out to *the mountains, fall upon us, and to the hills, cover us!* (1)

Having just now been upon deck, I find we are off the light house of the Small Islands, as they are called. The light house has much the

(1) Luke xxi 26. xxiii. 30.

appearance of an Irish Round Tower, though, instead of standing in an open country, it is placed on the pinnacle of a small insulated rock, which just appears above the bosom of the deep, at the distance of twenty miles from the Welsh coast. In this narrow and dreary cell, seeing nothing but the "wild and wasteful ocean," hearing nothing but the perpetual lashing of its surges, mingled with the howling of contending winds, and the shrill screaming of cormorants, three poor human beings live immured from one three months to another, when they receive a fresh supply of oil for their lamps, and of provisions for themselves. Their only pleasure, in the mean time, is to drink whisky, and their only prospect, is to have it in their power to drink whiskey, as long as they live. On the other hand, if there are charms in heavenly contemplation and devotion, beyond all other pleasures which can be tasted here upon earth; and, unless the inspired penmen deceive us in assuring us there are such, we may well believe the ancient inhabitants of the round towers (1),

(1) In deciding, as I unequivocally do, that the round towers of Ireland were the cells of certain anachorets in the early ages of its Christianity, (though not of all anachorets, or *Inclusi*; for doubtless many lived in cells upon the ground), I enter my protest against the idea of penitentiary houses, in which the hermit is supposed to remove from one floor to another, according to the terms of his penance; or in which a number of penitents were shut up in the different floors of the building. To form a right judgment in matters of this nature, the antiquary ought to be acquainted with the general

the anachorets, enjoyed these higher pleasures, and thus received an ample indemnification for the austerities they endured, even that hundred fold reward which Christ has promised here upon earth, to those who abandon satisfactions in this world for his sake (1).—But I must conclude with assuring you that

I am, Dear Sir,

Your's, &c.

J. M.

discipline of the Catholic Church, and the particular manners and opinions of the monks and hermits during the early and middle ages.

(1) Matt. xix. 29.





LETTER II.

TO THE AFORESAID MERCHANT.

Milford, August 13, 1807.

DEAR SIR,

WITHIN two hours from the concluding of my letter to you of yesterday, I found myself at the entrance of the celebrated haven of this place. I was surprised and delighted with the capaciousness of this bold inlet, capable, as it is, of containing all the ships of

war in the world ; with its numerous and diversified bays, and with the smooth and tranquil state of its waters, compared with the boisterous waves of the Irish Sea which I had just quitted. This circumstance is owing to the haven's being so completely landlocked.

I have walked from the hotel this morning, to enjoy the different views of this charming place, which rises, in the form of an amphitheatre, above the majestic bason of the haven, and commands every part of it, with the numerous vessels sailing in different directions upon it. The town is rapidly increasing in size and importance : but were it within a hundred miles of London, it would increase at a much quicker rate, and, I make no doubt, would soon become the largest watering-place within an equal distance from that city. Still this haven cannot vie, either with the bay of Dublin or the harbour of Cork, in grandeur or beauty.

After the sea prospects, the object which pleased me most in my rambles, was a small, plain, new-built church, upon an eminence, near the entrance of the town, which from the hasty view I had of its outside, appeared to me as faultless a specimen of pointed architecture, as I had almost ever met with from modern skill (1). I was told that the architect is a French emigrant, by

(1) Upon a second view of it, in the present year 1808, now that it is finished, I think I have discovered several defects in it.

trade a shipbuilder, who resides near Milford ; and I make no doubt, that his success in the present work, is owing to his having closely copied some ancient church in the neighbourhood. The mention of this unexpected sight, brings me to the subject which ought to have formed the matter of my last letter to you, that of ecclesiastical architecture, or rather the particular branch of it which regards the building of Catholic Chapels. I must premise, however, that I am not myself an architect, in the lowest sense of the term : all that I can pretend to in this line is, some little experience, and a few obvious reflections which I have made concerning it. You will judge for yourself of the propriety of my rules and observations, and adopt them or not, in the chapel you talk of erecting, just as you think proper.

I own, I was delighted to find the spirit which I every where met with amongst the Catholics of your country, after I had quitted the capital, for rebuilding their chapels, in a better style than they have hitherto been in ; and I can readily believe the anecdote you told me, concerning the vestry that was held in your neighbouring parish (1). I have been informed that you are

(1) The anecdote is as follows. A parish church in the county of Waterford being in great decay, a vestry of the protestant inhabitants of the parish was held, to consider of the means of raising money to repair it. No such means, however, occurring to the meeting, one of the company spoke to this effect : "Gentlemen, if you will follow

indebted, for the improvements which are going on in so many places, to the bigotry of the Orange yeomanry, and the fury of the soldiers during the rebellion of 1798. Not content with destroying whatever houses they found vacant at that period, they every where burnt down the chapels. For the loss of these, government, with equal justice and wisdom, made an adequate compensation, by means of which, and of voluntary contributions, they are in a great measure restored with advantage. The example of your eastern counties, in which these transactions took place, has stimulated the Catholics in other counties, that were never disturbed, to exert themselves in the same line of chapel improvement. I cannot recollect half the places, where I saw new and elegant chapels, either built or in the act of building : the following places, however, strike my memory at the present moment ; Timolin, Castle Dermot, Tullow, Carlow, Thurles, Cashel, Cahir, our Lady's at Cork, Carrick on Suire, and Trinity extra at Waterford. All these erections, however, must yield in exterior beauty to your principal chapel, or rather church, at Waterford. Its extensive and lofty façade, with its massive, but regular pillars, pilasters, entablature, and pediment, the latter sur-

my advice, I will be answerable for the success of it. Let us make a present of our church to the Papists. They will not fail to put it into good repair ; and when that is done, we can take it from them, as we did before."

mounted with an ornamented cross, and charged in the tympanum with appropriate ecclesiastical ornaments, carved and gilt, forms not only the greatest ornament of your great city, but is the noblest front of any modern place of worship I recollect having seen in Ireland. Still I must give the preference, for an inside view, to Our Lady's at Cork (1) ; and you know, Sir, it is the spirit of our religion, to bestow the greatest pains and expense upon the interior decorations of our churches and chapels, while other modern denominations of Christians, exhibit their magnificence and ornaments on the outside of their places of worship ; imitating, in this respect, the example of the pagan Greeks and Romans. It remains to be seen whether the grand chapel at Thurles will or will not, when finished, exceed each of these chapels, both in exterior and interior grandeur and elegance (2).

(1) Since the former edition of these Letters, the inside decorations of this Church have been compleated, and it has been furnished with a most costly and elegant tabernacle, a beautiful altar-piece, and every other requisite suitable to the magnificence of the building. A particular account of the whole, and of the ceremony of blessing it, has lately been published.

(2) Interior dimensions of the three above-mentioned chapels.

			Feet.
Waterford Great Chapel, length	-	-	105
Breadth of the nave and side aisles,	-	-	65
Length of the transept, the chapel being in the form of a cross,			95
Height of the groined ceiling,	-	-	50
Our Lady's Chapel, or Church of Cork, having three altars,			
Length,	-	-	100
Breadth of the nave and side aisles,	-	-	62

The chief and the general fault of all these new built chapels, consists in the incongruous mixture of different orders and styles of architecture which is observable in them. In your grand church, for example, and in the elegant one which is almost finished at Carrick, I remarked, that the windows and the inside arches of the intercolumnations are sharply pointed, while the general style of each chapel is Grecian. I recollect also, that the vaulting of your chapel is executed partly in circular arches, partly in pointed groins ; and it is plain to me, from conversing with two or three of your architects, that they consider it as a proof of their taste and knowledge, thus to combine different styles in the same building, and even to invent new styles of their own. Seeing the master builder, at one of the above-mentioned new chapels, about to place a whimsical sort of capital for the buttment of a pointed arch, I took the liberty of asking him, what order or style that capital belonged to ? He answered me : “ it is of no particular “ order or style ; but it is a fancy Corinthian “ capital.”—“ Do you, then, really imagine, “ Sir,” said I, “ that you can fancy a more

Length of the transept or cross aisle,	•	•	90
Height of the vaulting,	-	-	42
New Chapel at Thurles, length	-	-	120
Length of the porch,	-	-	20
Length of the transept,	-	-	120
Height of the vaulting,	-	-	34
Height of the tower,	-	-	100

“ beautiful Corinthian capital, than that which
 “ has obtained the approbation of all civilized
 “ nations in all ages ?”

The first canon, or rule, then, for chapel-building, which, Sir, I shall venture to lay down for your observance, and of the other parties concerned in the intended erection, is that, after proper consultation with respect to beauty, propriety, expense, and practicability, you should fix, not only upon the general style, but also upon the particular order, or period of architecture, in which you will have it executed ; and that you should give the most precise and rigid orders, that this style and order be adhered to ; not only in the essential, but also in the minuter parts of your building, and in the very ornaments and furniture of it. You will find, in your illustrious countryman's (1) Treatise on the Sublime and Beautiful, the principles upon which a number of uniform members of a building are calculated to give pleasure ; and, without reading this treatise, you will experience this pleasure, from contemplating your building when finished, if it be so constructed. Your practice of introducing so much pointed work into your chapels as you do, shews that you see the beauty of this style, and its peculiar propriety for ecclesiastical buildings : but again let me impress my first canon upon your mind. Good taste and good sense require, that you

should adopt the point in all your arches, or in none of them. The law of unity and simplicity applies to the other arts, to painting, statuary, music, and even poetry, no less than to building.

“Denique, sit quod vis, simplex duntaxat et unum.”

Horat. de Art. Poet.

You will gather from what I have just now said, that I myself greatly prefer the pointed style, which by some persons is called the Norman, by others the Gothic style (1), especially for religious edifices. Indeed, it was invented and perfected, in the zenith of the Church's wealth and power, by ecclesiastical personages, and for religious purposes; that is to say, for augmenting the solemnity of divine worship, and exciting the attention, awe, and devotion of those who assisted at it: and certainly, never did any invention of the human mind, more

(1) I agree with the persons who object to the term *Gothic*, as applied to the pointed style of architecture, that it was invented by the artists who restored the Grecian style, as a word of reproach to the former. Nevertheless, the word does not convey any such disgraceful idea at present, and the style itself is generally admired; since the inhabitants of Gothland are now a civilized people; and the sovereign of Sweden values himself in quality of King of the Goths and Vandals; and since the Normans themselves, to whom the invention of the beautiful style in question is ascribed, were themselves, two centuries before that period, as great destroyers of the arts as ever the Goths had been. I own the word Gothic does not raise my stomach, in the same degree it does those of some of my friends.

completely answer its intended purpose, than this has done. For where is the mortal so stupid, so dissipated, or so irreligious, who does not experience something of these awful and religious feelings among the long-drawn ailes, the aspiring arches and pinnacles, and ramified tracery of an ancient cathedral ! (1) Since the plundering of ancient reformers, the fury of later fanatics, and the more destructive caprice of fantastic modern improvers, these venerable piles are but, as it were, the skeletons of what they were three hundred years ago ; yet where is the being, possessed of a soul, who will say that the paragon of modern art and magnificence, St. Paul's Cathedral, disposes his mind for prayer and contemplation in the same degree that York, Lincoln, and Winchester Cathedrals do ? (2)

It has been pretended by some writers, that this grand effort of human ingenuity and industry, the pointed style, was borrowed from the Eastern Saracens, by other writers from the Western Moors of Spain, while a third class derive it from the Northern Goths of Scandinavia ; as if there had been more native genius and

(1) See the author's sentiments on this subject more at length in *The History and Antiquities of Winchester*, vol. ii. c. 2.

(2) I would have added to this list Westminster Abbey, were it not now a mere statuary shop, where huge blocks of stone, ill wrought, no less than well wrought, and some of them not wrought at all, confusedly cover all the beautiful arch-work of the walls, and begin to fill even the open spaces of the ailes and naves.

grandeur of conception, more ardent religious feelings, and greater encouragement for ecclesiastical architecture among these several barbarians, than existed among our own magnificent and ingenious Normans of the 12th and 13th centuries! Let any intelligent person survey the vast and expensive cathedrals and abbey churches, which the Norman prelates began to build in every part of England, soon after the conquest, the substance of which still remains; and then let them tell me, whether so much ardour, so much ingenuity, and so much liberality, as they severally manifested for the advancement of ecclesiastical architecture, was not likely to discover whatever in it was most beautiful and perfect? But I have elsewhere fully confuted these several systems (1), and have shewn, amongst other things, that if this beautiful style had been borrowed from any foreign original whatsoever, we should have possessed some copy or other of it, that was introduced all at once, in a complete and regular form. But no such specimen has anywhere been discovered. On the contrary, we see this art, like other arts, rising from a small beginning, and gradually growing up to its perfection through a succession of ages. It is evident to the eye-sight, that the Norman architects in the 11th and 12th centu-

(1) See the *History of Worcester*, vol. ii. p. 184. Also *Essays on Gothic Architecture*, by the Rev. Thomas Warton, Rev. J. Beadham, Captain Giesey, and the Rev. J. Milner, published by J. Taylor, at the Architectural Library, Holborn.

ries, used to ornament the plain surface of their churches with rows of circular arches ; and that, by way of variety, they frequently caused these arches to intersect each other, which intersections formed pointed arches ; and that they soon after began to open these intersections by way of windows ; and that, in a very short time, they made all their arches pointed ; and that they proceeded to ornament these with trefoils, canopies, &c. In short, it has been proved (1), both by history and theory, that as the pointed arch is the chief character, so it is the grand source of all the other members, and of all the ornaments of the architecture in question. I am far, however, from assering, that the Normans of France and Italy, and the Christians of Europe in general, were not intent on the improvement of their churches, at the same time that our ancestors were ; or that the discoveries of one nation were not immediately communicated to the others : all that I maintain is, that as ecclesiastical architecture was no where so much encouraged as it was in England, from the 11th century to the 15th, so I am convinced, the chief merit of discovering and improving pointed arches, is due to the Normans and English. The tradition of foreign countries, which ascribes the building of their most beautiful pointed cathedrals to our countrymen, confirms this opinion. Again, I do not mean to deny, that pointed arches are to be met with in Syria, in the East

(1) See the above-mentioned History and Essays.

Indies, and in the Moorish parts of Spain ; but I deny that any of these arches are 600 years old ; that is to say, are coeval with many of ours, or that they ever grew to be such miracles of grandeur and beauty, as our ancient cathedrals.

Should you and your friends resolve upon building in the pointed, vulgarly called the Gothic style, it will, in the next place, be necessary to determine upon some particular order, or period, as it is sometimes called, of this style ; for there is as much difference between the pointed order of Henry the Third's reign, in which Salisbury Cathedral was built, and that of Henry the Seventh's, who built the chapel of his name at Westminster, as there is between the Doric and the Composite orders of Grecian architecture. The chief distinguishing features of the different periods, consists in the span of the arch. During the first period, indeed, that is to say, during the reigns of the three first Henries, this was not fixed, the angles being either very obtuse, and hardly perceptible, or else prodigiously sharp, and by no means elegantly formed. During the second period, namely, during the reigns of the three first Edwards, the taste of our architects directed them to prefer the form of pointed arch, in which right lines drawn from the springing or imposts across, and so up to the crown of the arch, make an equilateral triangle. During the third period of the pointed style, which comprises the reigns of the three

last Henries, the architects being more anxious about their own reputation, by hanging vast weights in the air, and surprising the spectators with the richness and intricacy of their work, than about the general effect of the buildings, made the arches much flatter, and brought down the roofs much lower than their predecessors had done. The dressings of this style went on increasing in richness; so that to take up the idea of my friend, the late Poet Laureate (1), the first period may be called that of the *simple Gothic*, the second that of the *ornamented Gothic*, and the third that of the *florid Gothic* (2). You will easily judge from what I have here said, that I myself prefer the second order, as better calculated to answer the grand object of the pointed style, and as being gracefully ornamented without being gorgeously bedecked. Hence also you comprehend, that I like the style of York, Lincoln, and Winchester churches, better than I do that of King's College, Cambridge, and Henry the Seventh's, Westminster. Still there may be a necessity, for the sake of economy, or to gain more space in a chapel, to adopt the flat arch of the third order (but without its usual dressings) rather than the grand aspiring arch of the second. Which ever order, however, you choose, you must strictly

(1) The Rev. Thomas Warton.

(2) Observations on Spencer's Fairy Queen.

adhere to it, within the same range of building, for all your windows, doors, ballusters, picture-frames, and for your very tabernacle. If you wish to be convinced of the necessity of this rule, go to Lincoln's Inn Chapel, and observe the bad effect of the great Inigo Jones's inattention; who, in attempting the pointed style, has placed a sharp angled East window under a remarkably flat arched ceiling.

From the whole of what I have said concerning the pointed architecture, you will judge how difficult, or rather impossible, it is to build a chapel in this style, without the assistance of persons who understand it, and are accustomed to it. At all events, you must have an architect who is completely master of it; and this architect must furnish you, not only with a plan, but also with working drawings for the several parts of the building, the decorations, and the furniture. But where is this master of ancient architecture to be found? Not among the men who have been employed by our king, the nobles, and the prelates, to build what are called their Gothic Castles, and to *improve*, as these dabblers undertake to do, the master-pieces of antiquity, our awful cathedrals, while "they do not understand," as an able judge pronounced of them, "either the nature or "the uses of a cathedral(1)." I know one man,

(1) This is what the late Dr. Douglas, Bishop of Salisbury, publicly declared at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries, concerning the celebrated architect, who had, just before he came to the See, spent 16,000 l. in sweeping away the altar, chapel, monuments,

indeed, who is eminently qualified to direct any work of this nature ; and who, without either an original or a copy to look at, could sit down and make pure and perfect drawings for any kind of buildings in the pointed style, from a monument to a cathedral, according to any one of its different periods : but this architect resides not in Ireland, but in England ; and he is so inflexibly strict in adhering to ancient rules and practice, that he would not build for a prince, who should require the slightest deviation from them (1).

It is probable, that the difficulties attending the erection of your chapel in the pointed style, may determine you to adopt the Grecian architecture ; and certainly, it is infinitely preferable, to have a perfect work of the latter kind, than a caricatura of the former ; which, indeed, is the proper term for most of the Gothic chapels, as they are called, that I have met with in England.

and whatever else was most interesting in that sacred edifice, in destroying its proportions, and in making a confused jumble of its ornaments. See a Dissertation on the modern Style of altering ancient Cathedrals, by the Rev. J. Milner, D. D. F. S. A. Nichols, Red-Lion-Court, Fleet-Street ; Keating, Brown, and Co.

(1) Mr. Carter, Architect, Eaton-Street, Pimlico. See his Ancient Architecture of England ; also his Specimens of Ancient Sculpture and Painting ; but especially his intersected Views of different Cathedrals, &c. of England, engraved at the expense of the Society of Antiquaries. With the most enthusiastic passion for the pointed architecture, his whole life has been devoted to the study of it, from its great principles, down to its minutest ornaments.

I will, then, suppose you have fixed upon the Grecian style: it will still remain with you to choose amongst the different orders of this style, whether your buildings shall be of the simple Tuscan or Doric Order, or of the elegant Ionic Order, or of the florid Corinthian, or Composite Order. This being once chosen, you must insist upon its being strictly adhered to; and above all, you must prohibit the introduction of the smallest pointed arch, trefoil, quatrefoil, or pinnacle, and much more so of a spire. In fact, nothing can be more improper or incongruous than the practice of modern architects, in raising spires upon Grecian churches; since the spire is the natural growth of the pointed arch, as I have elsewhere demonstrated (1): nor can any example of such an ornament be discovered among the genuine remains of Greece or Rome. This matter being settled, you will next want a plan, the most important part of which will be the proportions.

Here in England, when a catholic chapel is to be built, the architect, who is generally some common carpenter or mason, instead of being directed to take his proportions from those well-studied models of our religious ancestors, in the churches and chapels which still subsist in every part of the land, is left to form his own plan; and he, being possessed with no other ideas, than those of build-

(1) See History of Winchester, and Essays on Gothic Architecture, quoted above.

ing a *place of worship*, and of following the fashion of the day, as nearly as he can, fails not to go and measure some one or more of the snug chapels of ease, or Methodist meeting-houses, which sprouts up, like mushrooms, around us. In short, he values himself upon the breadth which he gives to his plan; and if he can even bring it to the form of a square, he fancies he has gained the best possible shape for a chapel. But these ideas argue an ignorance of the characteristical difference, between our public worship, and that of the Methodists and other Protestants. Theirs consists, in a manner, wholly in words; ours chiefly in action. They meet to hear the Bible expounded, and the Common Prayer read to them, in a room to which they do not attach the idea of greater sanctity, than to any other place. Accordingly, the pulpit, with the king's arms painted on the wall, and some huge boxes, called pews, to contain the people, are all that is required for the ornament or furniture of such a place of worship. Whereas the essential part of our worship, like that of the people of God in all past times, consists in an action of the most solemn and awful kind; one that much more perfectly and emphatically expresses the supreme dominion, and the infinite power and goodness of God, than any words whatsoever can do. In short, we worship God by *sacrifice*; as his servants were ever accustomed and taught to do, both under the law of nature, and under the written law. Our sacrifice, however, is as much superior to theirs, as the divine Victim upon our

altars excels, in dignity and merit, the animals which were immolated by the patriarchs and priests of the old law, in memory of him. Now, for the due performance of a worship of this nature, it is easily conceived, that a sanctuary of a sufficient size, and one removed to a proper distance from the people, is requisite; yet still so that they may be able to see the action that is going forward, and to hear the priest in his prayers to God, and his addresses to them. In a word, the oblong form of building is that which has generally been approved of and adopted, not only by Catholics, but likewise by those different denominations of eastern Christians, whose chief worship, like ours, consists in sacrifice.

To determine the best relative proportions of a catholic chapel, is a difficult, or rather an impossible thing; as these must vary, more or less, according to different circumstances. But, after examining many ancient chapels, and plans of chapels, it appears to me, that one third part of the whole inside length, is, in general, a good proportion for its inside breadth (where there are no galleries or side aisles), as likewise for its interior height; though certainly a few feet more added to the height, would be gained in the grandeur of the chapel (1). Still, as the

(1) It may not be amiss to insert here the proportions of some of the most celebrated churches, ancient and modern.

Winchester Cathedral.

		Ft.	In.
Total inside length from West to East.	—	53 ¹	3

people ought, by all means, to see and hear what is going forward at the altar, as I said before, and likewise to hear distinctly the sermon ; hence, to prevent carrying the nave to a length incom-

Breadth of the nave and aisle sides,	—	86
Height of the vaulting,	—	78
Length of the transept or cross aisle from North to South,	208	
Length of the choir and sanctuary,	—	138
Breadth of the choir,	—	41 6

York Minster.

Total length	—	—	493
Breadth of the nave and aisles,	—	—	109
Height of the vaulting,	—	—	99

Lincoln Cathedral.

Total length,	—	—	498
Breadth of nave and aisles,	—	—	83
Height of vaulting,	—	—	83

St. Paul's, London.

Total length,	—	—	500
Breadth of the nave and side aisles,	—	—	107
Length of transept or cross aisle,	—	—	248
Height of vaulting,	—	—	88

St. Peter's, at Rome.

Total length of the church,	—	Palms	970	722
Interior length,	—	—	829	594
Length of transept,	—	—	225	
Height of vaulting,	—	—	200	

It is, however, to be observed that a large cathedral was not intended to unite a single congregation in one and the same service ; it is evidently too vast for this purpose : but it was meant to be a basilic, or corps of building for various religious purposes. This idea has never once found place in the brains of any of our modern cathedral reformers : no wonder, then, they have made so many blunders and so much havoc in them. It is from the comparative length and breadth of the choir, which is the part particularly destined to the principal service, that these proportions are to be taken.

patible with these purposes, you act with perfect judgment in your principal new built chapels in Ireland, by adding a transept to them. Thus they are built in the form of a cross ; a form which, though unknown to pagan antiquity, has been adopted by christian architects, as well in the circular as in the pointed style, both for its conveniency, and its analogy with the christian worship.

Next to the rule of proportion, undoubtedly stands that of symmetry, or a due correspondence of the parts. Your columns, windows, and doors, ought, therefore, to correspond exactly with each other from end to end, and from side to side, except that the East (1), or altar end, requires to be fitted up in a more rich and elegant manner, than the rest of the chapel, as I am going to explain ; though undoubtedly in the same style and order with it. Hence, in fixing upon the site of your intended chapel, you must, if possible, choose a spot not encumbered, and not likely to be encumbered with other buildings close to it, in order that you may have windows on both sides, and those facing each other. Hence also, should there be a necessity of forming the en-

(1) It was a primitive practice of the Church to pray towards the East ; on which account the ancient churches are almost always found to be built from East to West, and the altars to be placed at the East end of them. The custom is so general, that when, from particular circumstances, there is a necessity of building a church or chapel in a different direction, it is usual to call the altar end the East end, and the opposite the West end of the sacred edifice.

trance door of the chapel at one of the sides, instead of the West end, I should recommend, by all means, a sham door to be made opposite to it, for the purpose of preserving symmetry.

What the head is to the human body, the Altar is to a church or chapel of Catholics, or of other Christians, whose supreme worship consists in sacrifice. The word "ALTAR," says Johnson, "is received with Christianity into "all European languages (1)." But where is the scriptural, or the proper meaning of the words *altar* and *priest*, without a sacrifice? Not to proceed, however, into this subject, you will judge, from the importance of that member, the altar, with respect to the whole body of an ancient church, and the obvious reference which all the other members have to it, of the ignorance and folly of our modern church-improvers, who always begin their depredations with sweeping away the altars and altar screens ! In case these men have not taste enough to perceive, that all their gutting, and levelling, and scraping, and painting, and varnishing, tend to nothing else but to turn an awful place of worship into a mere hall, or promenade ; they ought at least to have learning enough, to read the first Rubric in their Common Prayer Book, which pointedly condemns their practice (2).

(1) Dictionary.

(2) This requires that "The chancels shall remain as they have "done in times past."—See Dissertation on the Modern Style, &c.

Whatever magnificence then, or appropriate decorations your fund will afford, this is the part of the chapel on which to bestow them. The expense, however, of a complete marble altar, may, I think, well be spared in these damp climates ; as such altars are found to be always exceedingly cold and clammy to the hand, and to keep the altar-linen in a perpetual state of moisture. On the other hand, I do not approve of the parsimony of substituting a mere wooden altar, painted in imitation of marble, with a plain cross of Malta in the front, for the rich and varying antependiums of our ancestors. If you will have a tomb-altar, let it be made in imitation of that most exquisite tomb altar at War-dour chapel, or of the equally beautiful one at Lulworth chapel. Should this be impracticable, you might place on the front of your altar a carved and gilt relievo of the mystical Lamb, resting on the sealed volume ; or of the pelican feeding its young : or of the chalice and host, with angels in the act of adoration ; or of the monogram of JESUS (1), or of CHRIST, surrounded with rays. If the altar is square, the

(1) The letters J. H. S. which are so frequently seen, do not mean *Jesus Hominum Salvator*, as is generally supposed ; but they are the Greek monogram, or cypher of the sacred name ; being the three first letters of it, viz. of ΙΗΣΟΥΣ. In like manner the X, with the P (which in Greek has the power of R) inserted in it, is the monogram of the word CHRIST, being the two first letters of ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ.

figure of a dead Christ, with those of the Blessed Virgin, St. John, &c. painted in light and shade, so as to represent carved work, would have an exceedingly good effect in that situation. I need not mention that the altar ought to be raised above the level of the chapel, by a proper number of steps, in proportion to the height and length of the latter.

The tabernacle upon the middle of the altar, you well know, is to us, what its type, the Ark of the Covenant, was to the ancient people of God ; and therefore ought, like that, to be the richest and most ornamented article in the whole sanctuary. Its form should be that of a regular building, and it may, with great propriety, be a model of the West end of your own chapel. It, however, admits of being decorated with niches, statues, vases, and other appropriate ornaments, in carving and gilding. With respect to gilding, however, it is proper to observe, that this should be used with great caution. A proper quantity of it helps the effect of ornaments in a very great degree : but too much of it is tawdry and contemptible. The crucifix which surmounts the tabernacle, ought certainly to be the best executed one you can procure. It ought also, in the situation which it holds, to be elegantly ornamented, and proportioned in size to the tabernacle. If in any article there is room for fancy, it is in the form of the candlesticks ; for those intended for domestic uses are of such various shapes, that it is not easy to find out a new one ;

and on the other hand, it is desirable that nothing appertaining to the divine worship, should have a vulgar and household appearance. Neither the candlesticks, nor the flowers, reliquaries, or other ornaments about the altar, should be too numerous, bulky, or gorgeous. The *Simplex Munditiis* is a universal rule in decorations of every sort.

A beautiful altar-piece, proportioned to the size of the altar end, is obviously so essential an ornament, that I hardly need mention it, except by way of observing that there are many excellent pictures proper for altar-pieces now upon sale at reasonable prices, in various parts of London: as, among the loads of paintings which have been brought into England of late years from abroad, those which represent the most pious subjects are in the least request. I must say, however, that the most pious of all subjects, namely, the crucifixion, is the one to which I am least partial for an altar-piece, because it is a repetition of what is exhibited immediately beneath it on the tabernacle. To be brief, the whole East end of the chapel ought to present an interior façade, or piece of finished architecture. Four pillars, or pilasters, of the order you have previously chosen, should support a cornice, or rather entablature, which should finish in a closed or open pediment. The tympanum of the latter, admits of any of the devices mentioned above, as proper for the front of the altar, in relievo, painting, or stained glass. The open space also

between the columns on each side, and directly over the credence table, is well adapted to a niche and statue, or a well proportioned picture, and the cornice may, with great propriety, be crowned with urns or other vases.

Supposing, however, the chapel to be built in the form of a cross, as I have said is the case with some of your best chapels in Ireland, and that the altar is placed in the centre of the intersection, you will ask how the latter is to be ornamented, so as to preserve its character of superior magnificence and importance? I grant the difficulty there is, in this case, to gain the desired effect; at least if there be an eastern shaft to the church or chapel, extending beyond the altar, and of the same height with it. Our ancestors shut up their high altars to the East with those exquisite altar screens, either of open work, as at Durham, or of close work, as at St. Alban's and Winchester, which are the most astonishing of all their beautiful works(1). But in these churches, the eastern shafts of the cross, beyond the altar, had no communication with the worship performed at it. In St. Peter's Church at Rome, a most splendid and beautiful canopy (2), formed of the bronze which heretofore covered the cupola of the

(1) This particularly holds good with respect to the two last-mentioned altar screens. The carved work in them, though executed in stone, is so delicate as to baffle the efforts of the most laborious artists barely to make a drawing of it.

(2) Notwithstanding the richness and elegance of this large and beautiful canopy, executed after a design of the celebrated Bernini,

Pantheon, and richly gilt, is raised over the high altar, on elegant twisted pillars of the same metal, to the height of 87 feet. This gives the altar as much dignity as it well admits of in that situation. In case, however, there should be no eastern shaft in your new chapel, or only one with a low roof, for the purpose of a private chapel, or a sacristy, like the Lady chapels in most of our cathedrals ; your altar will then admit of all the above-mentioned decorations, and even of a painted East window instead of an altar-piece.

I come now to speak of the body of the chapel ; and first with respect to galleries. Indeed every canon of architectural taste must yield to necessary convenience and economy. Hence if galleries are requisite to contain your numbers, they must certainly be erected ; otherwise be assured that these encumbrances take off from the beauty and solemnity of your sacred edifice, but much more those that run along the sides of it, than when there is barely one at the West end.

With respect to your ceiling, if you leave this to the plasterer, he will give you ornament enough, in circles, festoons, flowers, and such other ornaments as he is accustomed to form in drawing-rooms ; but on this very account, if there were no better reason, they ought to be pro-

it must be admitted, that if this wonder of the world, St. Peter's of Rome, is deficient in any thing, it is in the importance of its high altar. The great Michael Angelo had a plan for correcting this, one part of which required that the altar should be raised 50 feet high.

scribed from the house of sacrifice and prayer. To make short of the matter, as there is no kind of ceiling for churches in the pointed style equal in beauty to groining, so there is none for those in the Grecian style, to be compared with circular arching. If, for want of sufficient pecuniary funds, or of sufficient space in your chapel, you cannot adopt the bold semicircular arch, you must be content with an elliptical one ; and at all events, you must restrain your plasterers from introducing the common ornaments, with which they are accustomed to decorate their drawing-rooms, and square modern chapels. In case your circular or elliptical ceiling is supported with broad ornamented ribs, resting upon the cornices of pillars or pilasters, as in the vaulting of St. Peter's at Rome, and of Wardour Chapel, which is the St. Peter's of modern English places of worship, I can conceive nothing in the Grecian style more appropriate or beautiful. The pillars themselves, or the pilasters, in chapels, where there are no side galleries, and where the congregation is decent and orderly, should be continued down to the floor of the building ; but where the people are of a different description, and the pillars or pilasters are not of a firmer texture than plaster or deal wood, it will be advisable to make the latter terminate in consoles or brackets, at one third of the distance from the architrave to the ground.

As no circumstance is more favourable to awful and sublime sensations than the "dim

“religious light” which poets have celebrated (1), and philosophers have remarked upon (2), (at the same time that sufficient light must be had for all necessary purposes) it is advisable, in case you cannot procure a sufficient quantity of painted or stained glass, to place your windows very high; that is to say, within a few feet of the ceiling. At Wardour no windows at all are to be seen in the body of the chapel, which contributes greatly to the awe which the stranger feels at his entrance into it. Nevertheless there is quite sufficient light from the sky to read a book, or to view distinctly the beautiful pictures, one of which adorns every vacant space between the pilasters. The fact is, there are windows of a sufficient size, one over each picture, but the sight of them is happily intercepted by the projecting cornice beneath them. In chapels, having side galleries, there must necessarily be windows, or portions of windows in the aisles below them. In this case, if painted or stained glass is not to be had, the desired effect may be partly obtained, by glazing the windows with rough glass, which is nothing more than common glass, one side of which has been rubbed with sand and water, till it becomes impossible to see through it, whilst it transmits the light as well as ever. Perhaps you will say it is owing

(1) Milton's *L. Penseroso*.

(2) Burke on the Sublime.

to my Gothic taste, that I prefer casements to sashes ; but leaving this out of the question, the plumber can dispose his lead into any shape that is desired, with much greater facility than the joiner can his wood. Thus it is easy in a casement window, to have a border all round each of the lights, and a circle in the upper part of it, to contain stained or painted glass, when the proprietor is not able to glaze the whole window in that manner. I could wish that every window in your chapel, had a contrivance to open part of it, and that there were also certain apertures in the ornamental work of the ceiling, yet so as not to disfigure it, to answer the purpose of ventilators. It is hardly possible to procure too much fresh air in chapels crowded as yours are : and the upper region is the proper place to introduce it, because thither the heat and vapours ascend, and air thus introduced does not flow in a current upon any part of the congregation, to the danger of their health.

There are two pieces of furniture in most chapels, which it is difficult to dispose of properly, the organ and the pulpit. The former generally finds its place in a gallery at the west end of the chapel. Sometimes, however, the choristers, who must be near the organ, object to that situation. In other instances, it cannot be so placed, without obstructing a beautiful west window. In these circumstances, I would not indeed sacrifice the organ itself, but I would sacrifice the case of it, by requiring the builder to dispose of his pipes

horizontally, or in some such manner as should neither spoil symmetry or conceal beauty. At the chapel of New College, Oxford, the pipes of the organ are so placed along the mullions of the grand west window, as rather to help its effect, than to obstruct it. The pulpit cannot be stationary, without both injuring symmetry, and taking up a great deal of space where it is most wanted. Why, then, should not the preacher be contented with a light moveable pulpit, which can be wheeled from the vestry directly before the altar; or, if the chapel is small, with a large and firm reading-desk, covered with a suitable veil? It is evident, that in this situation he best commands the whole of his audience: whereas, when the pulpit is placed in the ordinary way, on one side of the chapel, he can never see the whole of his flock at once, and generally is overlooked by a part of it.

I would not in erecting a new chapel, be indifferent as to the form and colour of the benches, nor even of the cushions. The former should be as light in their construction, as is consistent with a proper degree of strength. Nothing can injure the effect of a chapel more than those clumsy boxes and enclosed sheep-pens, called pews, which the Catholics of late years have borrowed from the Protestants. I am speaking here of England, and particularly of London; for I never saw any thing of the sort in Ireland. Look at the exquisite stall-work, in the choirs of our ancient cathedrals, and even at the plain oaken

benches for the common people, which still remain in many of the parish churches; you will there see how well our ancestors knew how to combine lightness with strength, and elegance with convenience. The benches and cushions should be perfectly uniform, and of the same colour, if possible, with the chapel itself, which I suppose to be of a grey, a blue, an olive, or a yellow hue. If there must be a variety of colours in any instance whatsoever, let there be as little of it as possible, and by all means avoid strong contrasts.

Thus, dear Sir, I have executed the task you imposed upon me, by throwing together my thoughts upon chapel building. I know very well, that if you shew this letter to our protestant friend Mr. P. he will ridicule the whole of these details as superstitious minutiae, and he will ask, if it is not possible to be impressed with proper religious feelings, without all these artificial means of exciting them?—There can be no doubt, but Mr. P. when he enters within the bare damp walls of his parish church, and views from his enclosed box, the enormous pulpit over his head, and those tremendous beasts, the lion and the unicorn, before his face; there can be no doubt, I say, but he is struck with as much reverence and devotion, as if he were praying in the modern Vatican at Rome, or in the ancient Cathedral of Lincoln, as it existed 300 years ago: but it is not so with you and me. We are so apt to be distracted and tepid in our prayers, that we

stand in need of every aid from sensation as well as reflection, to fix our wandering thoughts, and to warm our cold hearts. But what is most to the present purpose, let Mr. P. consider, that He who *knew what was in man* (1), judged such exterior means of exciting the attention and piety of his chosen people, to be so fit and necessary, that he deigned himself to enter into far more numerous and minute details of this nature, in his revealed word, than those contained in the present letter (2).

But the Waterford packet, which will convey to you my former letter as well as this, is on the point of sailing, and I myself, after calling upon a few friends in Monmouthshire, the Malvern Hills, and Worcester, must hasten home to my house at Wolverhampton, where I shall be glad to learn your opinion concerning my ideas of Ecclesiastical Architecture. In the mean time, I remain,

Dear Sir,

yours, &c.

J. M.

(1) John ii. 25.

(2) See the details concerning the tabernacle and the temple, in the Books of Exodus, Leviticus, Kings, &c.



LETTER III.

TO A PROTESTANT GENTLEMAN IN ENGLAND ;

*Being an Account of the Writer's Second Tour
through Ireland.*

Dublin, Sept. 22, 1808.

DEAR SIR,

HAVING at length accepted of the invitation of my much respected friend at Cork, to be present at the solemn benediction of his elegant chapel in that city, which was fixed for the 22d of last month ; and being unable to leave my home before the 15th of it, I found it difficult enough, from a variety of causes, to

arrive there in due time. Having, by appointment, joined the respectable companion of my tour at Bristol, we were first detained a considerable time by the wind and tide, at the New Passage, on the banks of the Severn. At different stages in Wales we were delayed by the want of post horses and the badness of them. Embarking at Milford, we were baffled during two whole days and as many nights, by calms and adverse gales, in our hopes of a speedy voyage to Ireland. Landing at Waterford, we found still greater difficulty to procure horses at the different post towns in Ireland, than we had experienced in Wales; till, arriving late at Clogheen, the postmaster there declared, that if we chose to risk our persons, he would not risk his horses and drivers among the Kilworth mountains, infested as they were with robbers, in the dark, and without a guard. Perceiving no remedy for the grievance, we were obliged to pass the night at that miserable place; and we set off the next morning for Fermoy in the style of an eastern caravan, being four chaises, in company with an escort of dragoons. In spite of all these impediments, we arrived at Cork just in time to witness the splendid and awful ceremony, the sight of which, in the opinion of my fellow traveller, abundantly repaid him for all the pains he had taken to be present at it.

The hurry which accompanied me to this island has attended me ever since, that is, till now, when I am within a few days of quitting it

on my voyage homeward, by the way of Holyhead. So that, instead of writing to you from the different places which I have visited in Ireland, as I did during my first tour, I am obliged to content myself with giving you a general account of what I have seen and observed here in a single letter.

The pleasure which I had experienced at my first visit to Cork, was renewed with advantage at my second visit. Indeed, I should be destitute of sense, could I ever survey its natural beauties with indifference; and I should be devoid of sentiment, not to feel, beyond the power of expression, the refined urbanity and the superabundant kindness which I have twice experienced from so many of its respectable inhabitants. I have again enjoyed the rich and diversified views upon the magnificent estuary of Cork in a sailing party, with which a gentleman, who is a joint proprietor of a yacht, has indulged me, in common with many other friends. The scene about Cove and Monk's Town was particularly interesting, from the number of transports and King's ships, which were waiting there to convey our troops to the relief of our brave Hesperian allies. It was also a curious sight to me, as an Englishman, to see the Cork fishermen near the mouth of the harbour, hauling up large turbot into their boats, almost as fast as you can catch perch in your river.

I found that the different schools and other charitable and pious institutions, supported by

is increâsing at a rapid rate (1). What does this prove, but the futility and absurdity of the expensive system which government is pursuing ; and that since it cannot proselyte the Catholics, nor root them out, nor transport them to Canada, as an *evangelical* member of parliament has proposed, the best way is to let them believe in transubstantiation and the Pope, and to adopt them as emancipated subjects.

You return from what you term your digression concerning the Charter-Schools to your favourite (but as I thought exhausted) subject ; the motive of my voyage to Ireland. It seems you have “collected fresh evidence that this “was to persuade the R. Catholic Clergy to re-
“ sist, by every means in their power, any mo-
“ dification or new arrangement of their present
“ government (2).” This evidence is drawn from a passage of my Letters, in which I express my conviction that “the Catholic Bishops and
“ Clergy are not to be bought at any price what-
“ soever to form a separate interest from that of
“ their flocks, and that they will not even ac-
“ cept of pensions, except upon a footing of in-
“ dependency, and as part of a general arrange-
“ ment for the relief of their body (3).” To do you justice, Sir, you are not the only person who has argued in this manner from the passage in question. A Noble Lord, who once filled the chief efficient situation in your island, read it at

(1) P. 27.

(2) P. 32.

(3) See above p. 35.

writer would shew how this ecclesiastical form of government, with its power of excommunication, is more hostile to his Majesty's civil government, than the Presbyterian, Methodistical, or any other form of church government is; all which equally claim the right of excluding refractory members from their society. Lastly, that he would demonstrate in what respects it would be more for the peace and safety of the state that the Catholics of Ireland or of England should live in a state of ecclesiastical democracy or anarchy, than that they should live under their ancient well-ordered hierarchy, which, for its wisdom and order, has been copied by the Established Church.—In my observations on his Lordship's project for the destruction of this hierarchy, I signified, that in case he could persuade the legislature to concur in this his favourite measure, and to pass an act for the purpose, we should make no exterior resistance to the execution of the law, but satisfy ourselves with yielding our lives rather than comply with it (1). At the recital of this moderate and peaceable sentiment, you are petrified with horror! calling it "the most dangerous sentiment that has ever appeared from an audacious pen." You then present your reader with two whole lines and a half of black dashes, — — — — (2), in order to impress him with similar horror! But

(1) See above, p. 42.

(2) P. 44.

pray, Sir Richard, if in the course of future contingencies, another Queen Mary were to mount the throne, and to get an act of parliament passed requiring all her subjects to profess their belief in the Pope's Supremacy and in Transubstantiation, how would you act?—I tremble for your inflexible faith on one hand, and your flexible loyalty on the other, in the situation in which I have placed you : but, Sir, you must look it in the face, and must answer me one way or other. Tell me, then : would you become a Papist in obedience to the law ? Or would you meekly yield your life, as I have said the Catholic clergy and laity will do, rather than suffer Lord Redesdale to new model their Church ? Or would you take up arms against Mary, as Sir Thomas Wyatt, Bishop Poynt, and so many other Protestants did, in defence of their religion ?—Not aware of this obvious retort to which you were exposing yourself, you proceed to assume your ascendancy airs and Orange menaces, by talking of *putting me to prison, and banishing me from the realm*, as a person who is doing *mischief to the state*, &c. (1) Such language, Sir, may do very well for Ireland, where Orangemen claim the privilege of insulting and threatening Catholics in whatever manner they please ; and sometimes of executing their threats, however contrary to law : but on this side of the channel, where the Catholic is not only nominally, but ac-

tually as much under the protection of the law as the Protestant is, it serves no other purpose than to render the person who uses it ridiculous. Return, then, Sir, your rusty Toledo into its scabbard, and, instead of vainly flourishing it in the air, sit yourself down at your desk, and coolly consider, whether it becomes that author to descant upon mischief done to the state by writing, whose principal work has been spurned from the throne, because it is calculated to inflame the resentment of four millions of subjects; and whether it is decent for that man to call for fresh restraints on the press, who stands convicted before the public of fabricating under his own name the vilest calumnies against the great mass of his countrymen! But, Sir, we clearly see what kind of restraints upon the press you are desirous of introducing; they are to be such as will leave you at liberty to publish another close printed quarto of 1000 pages, full of misrepresentation, falsehood, and forgery against the Catholics, but will tie them up from vindicating themselves, and exposing you! They are to be such as will permit you to disfigure the history of past events, but will hinder your opponents from presenting this history in its true colours (1).

(1) Amongst other crimes against the state with which the egregious Remarker charges me, one is for mentioning the infraction of the treaty of Limerick, though he does not attempt to deny the fact. Another is, my calling Queen Elizabeth "an hypocritical

It is with great reluctance and some degree of confusion that I find myself called upon to discuss subjects of ancient literature with the writer of the Remarks and the Memoirs of the Rebellions. Had Dr. Ledwich come forward, to assert his claim to be still called *The Antiquary of Ireland*, he would have found me prepared with historical evidence for still further refuting his extravagant paradoxes concerning the ancient apostle and religion of your country. But as he declines the contest, under the pretext of his age, with what face can you, Sir, present yourself to it, conscious as you are of being utterly unprovided for it? How ridiculous is it, for example, to hear you repeating the words of your master Ledwich: "St. Patrick is not mentioned by any author, or in any work of veracity, in the 5th, 6th, 7th, or 8th century; he was not heard of when Bede died in 735," after I have demonstrated that Bede himself records "St. Patrick the Apostle of Ireland," in the only passage of his works

"and remorseless princess." It appears that this writer then does not see either cruelty or hypocrisy in Elizabeth's frequent tampering with poor Mary's keepers to put her privately to death, or with her signing the death-warrant and delivering it to her secretary, and then punishing him for sending it to be executed; and with her lamenting the death of the deceased to her son James, and *swearing* that she was innocent of it. I say nothing of her putting to death above 100 priests for high treason, whom, by the testimony of her own feed historian, Camden, she allowed were innocent of that crime. See Letters to a Prebendary, 4th edit. pp. 194, 221, 234, &c.

where it was rational to look for such a record, namely, his Martyrology ! (1) Again, have I not quoted the still existing life of St. Patrick by Probus, whom I have proved, on the testimony of Charlemagne's friend, the celebrated Alcuin, to have been a writer of credit in the 7th century ? (2) Have I not referred to the circumstantial account of this saint which occurs in the Annals of our celebrated chronologer Nennius, who flourished at the beginning of the same 7th century ? (3) Have I not vindicated the metrical eulogium of this apostle by his disciple St.

(1) The learned Monsig. Georgi, Chaplain to Benedict XIV. in his Notes on Ado's Martyrology, testifies that St. Patrick's name occurs in the *genuine* copy of Bede's Martyrology, that is to say, in the copy as he left it, without the addition of the subsequent saints made by Florus and others.——N. B. The great Baronius, in his notes on the Roman Martyrology, lamented exceedingly that the ancient Martyrology of Rome, the same which Pope Gregory the Great, at the end of the sixth century, mentioned as being "dispersed throughout Christendom," could not in his time be found. At length the learned Rosweyde discovered it (proving it to be genuine to the satisfaction of all the learned) at the head of a copy of Ado, in a monastery at Cologne. In this martyrology, or public register, (which was read throughout all the western church within less than 100 years from the death of St. Patrick, his name is thus recorded: "XVI. Kalend. April. (17 Martii) "S. Patritii Episc. qui primus apud Scotos prædicavit."

(2) I have shewn that our illustrious countryman Alcuin quotes him as an author of respectability in the eighth century. De Pontif. Eborac. apud Gale. This refutes the account of Nicholson and others, who wish to bring him down to the 10th century.

(3) Gale, Cave, Tanner, Butler, &c.

Fieck, who died early in the 6th century? (1) Finally, have I not dwelt upon the Confession of St. Patrick, or the History of his Life, written by himself, which, no less than his Epistle to Corotic, and the Acts of two Councils held by him, is admitted to be genuine by the most able critics (2). These accordingly agree in drawing their narrative concerning our saint from his Confession, in preference to all other records whatsoever! Now, Sir, if it be true that I have adduced this mass of primitive evidence in proof of St. Patrick's existence, (to say nothing of my other numerous and irrefragable arguments) with what face can you meet me upon this question, without attempting at least to invalidate either the authenticity or the authority of my documents? To speak plainly, Sir, your confidence has every appearance of impugning the known truth.

I may argue in the same manner with respect to the Pope's Spiritual Supremacy, which, ac-

(1) It is admitted to be genuine by Ware, Harris, Usher, Nicholson, Colgan, &c.

(2) Bollandus, Tillemont, Usher, Ware, Fleury, Butler, &c.—
In the present edition I have cited the testimony of the learned Cudean Abbot of Jona in the middle of the 7th century, Adamnan, an author of whom Dr. Ledwich himself speaks with great respect. In his Preface to the Life of his predecessor, St. Columba, he says.
“ Quidam proselytus Brito, homo sanctus, *Sancti Patritii Episcopi*
“ *discipulus, Mavetus nomine, ita de nostro prophetizavit patrono,*
“ &c.”

according to Dr. Ledwich's system, you deny to have been acknowledged in Ireland before the middle of the 12th century. In vain have I produced a chain of original documents in proof of the contrary, which reach from the period you have assigned, namely, the arrival of Cardinal Papario, with his four palliums, in 1152, up to the very life-time of St. Patrick in the 5th century. Instead of being awed by this body of evidence, you reproach me with my "parade of monkish learning," and my "quotations upon quotations from monkish writers (1)," and you treat your readers with a long quotation from Leland's History of Ireland, whose assertions upon this subject, as might be expected, exactly chime with those of Dr. Ledwich (2.) Such an authority may do very well with novel-readers of the present day, who cannot distinguish between the dates and the authority of Dr. Led-

(1) Pp. 4. 12.

(2) Dr. Ledwich himself is forced to admit that the Bishop of Lisimore, O'Clonarchy, was the Pope's Legate in Ireland at the time when Cardinal Papario arrived there, and that Gilbert, Bishop of Limerick, had been received as Legate before him.—N. B. I am aware that there is a respect and politeness due to each other from writers who are engaged in opposite and the most hostile causes. Still this rule has its bounds. And as a man who had been detected in the commission of any very base action, would be expelled from the company of gentlemen; so, when a writer stoops to threatening, instead of arguing, and publishes manifest forgeries of the most malicious tendency, for genuine records, he can expect no better treatment than to be hunted out of the republic of letters by every member who has the honour and interest of that republic at heart.

wich and Dr. Leland on one hand, and of Venerable Bede and Abbot Cummienus on the other, but must expose the writer, who now appeals to it, to the unqualified contempt of real scholars.

I remain, Sir,

Yours, &c.

J. M.



LETTER II.

TO THE REV. EDWARD RYAN, D. D.

*Author of "The Analysis of Ward's Errata,
"and the History of the Effects of Religion, &c."*

REV. D. SIR,

IT is as unexpected to me as it is unpleasant, to be called out to the field of controversy on the subject of biblical criticism. Those persons who have looked into my theological writings, know that I have been accustomed to adopt a shorter and more satisfactory way of settling religious controversies, than that of sending each well-meaning religious inquirer to hunt through his Bible, from the beginning of Genesis to the end of Revelations, for each text that regards, or that may be thought to regard the subject of his inquiry; then telling him to compare each text with the Latin Vulgate, the Greek Septuagint, and the primitive Hebrew, in the numberless editions and manuscript copies of each of them; and lastly, advising him to consult all the huge commenta-

tors and controvertists, ancient and modern, upon their discordant interpretations of the several texts in question. This, Sir, you know, is your method, if you are consistent with yourself, and speak out.—What I have said, in my Letters to Dr. Sturges, as also in the foregoing Letters, and on every other occasion, is to the following effect : “ The Bible is indeed the
“ word of God, and deserving of all the worship
“ we can possibly pay it : but God never intended that all mankind should learn the whole
“ of his law from *a book*, much less from so large
“ a book and so mysterious a book as the Bible
“ is, otherwise he would have told us so, and
“ would have provided, in his wisdom and
“ power, that all mankind should be able to
“ procure Bibles, and should have leisure and
“ learningsufficient to read and study them. He no
“ more intended that all men and children should
“ learn the whole of their belief and practice from
“ the books of scripture, than the British legislature has intended that the bulk of the nation
“ should learn and decide upon their civil duties
“ from reading over the statutes at large without
“ the help of judges or tribunals. In one word, it
“ would obviously be better (both reason and
“ experience prove it) to have no law at all,
“ than a law which every individual should be
“ at liberty to take into his own hands, and ultimately to decide upon for himself.—What,
“ then, do I advise the religious inquirer to do ?
—My advice is, *Hear the Church* ; that Church

" which you profess in your creed to be always
 " *Holy* and always *Catholic*, that living speaking
 " tribunal, which has decided all religious con-
 " troversies that have arisen since her foundation
 " 18 centuries ago, and which Christ, in his
 " wisdom, has appointed to decide them, not by
 " any new revelation that he makes to her, but
 " by her adhering to his divine word once re-
 " vealed and delivered to her, which she faith-
 " fully preserves through all ages, as well in writ-
 " ten tradition as in manuscript and printed
 " Bibles. Think, for a moment, how you know
 " that your Bible and each of the several books of
 " it, (the Canticles for example, or the Revela-
 " tions) was written by prophets or apostles?
 " How do you know, that when they wrote those
 " particular books, they were under the influ-
 " ence of divine inspiration? How do you know
 " that these books have not been corrupted or
 " altered, during the long succession of ages and
 " of copies and translations through which they
 " have passed? You have no security, you have
 " no rational grounds whatever to decide in fa-
 " vour of your Bible, upon any one of these
 " points, except the authority of the Catholic
 " Church, which you profess to believe in when
 " you repeat your Creed. She says : " I have
 " preserved these books so carefully through all
 " ages, that while kingdoms and empires, and civil
 " constitutions, and the state of literature and of
 " society itself, have frequently been changed
 " around me, I am sure these books have not

‘ been materially changed ; and I know them to
 ‘ have been originally revealed by *tradition from*
 ‘ *the apostles*. But take notice : the same tradi-
 ‘ tion which tells me that the scriptures are the
 ‘ word of God, and that commits them to my
 ‘ care, tells me also that I am appointed to ex-
 ‘ plain all and every controversy that may arise
 ‘ among the faithful about the meaning of any
 ‘ part of them, by referring to the sense in which
 ‘ my chief pastors in different ages and countries
 ‘ have understood and do understand them.’—

“ Now, my good religious inquirer, will you be
 “ so inconsistent as to admit the authority of the
 “ Catholic Church when she hands down to you
 “ the Bible, and to reject it when she tells you
 “ that such and such is the meaning of certain
 “ controverted passages in it? Will you call her
 “ a faithful witness on one occasion, and a frau-
 “ dulent impostor on the other?”

Such, Sir, being my short, simple, rational,
 and satisfactory method of settling religious con-
 troversies, I have never hitherto entered into the
 boundless and craggy field of biblical criticism.
 But since, Sir, you accuse me of having published
 a considerable work upon this subject, *Ward's*
Errata, and of having set it forth with the Life
 of the Author (1), and of having done this

(1) Dr. Ryan's words are these : “ It is said that Dr. Milner wrote
 “ Ward's Life, and recommended the Errata to the Popish Bi-
 “ shops, the Bishops to the clergy, and the clergy to the laity.”
 This is almost as circumstantial as Sir Richard Musgrave's account

“for the purpose of exposing the Protestant Bible and the Protestant Clergy to ridicule and contempt(1):” and since, upon your credit, as I really believe, more than upon that of Sir Richard Musgrave, I have been severely censured on this account in various magazines, reviews, and parliamentary debates, you cannot be surprised if I should ward off your attack upon me in the best manner I can.

To proceed now to the substance of your work: you tell us, that “It exposes Ward’s book and its patrons sufficiently; that it is likely to prevent another edition of the Errata, and to remain unanswered(2).” Now, Sir, in the first place, you will see that your work is answered, and that by the very person whom you have dared to the contest. Secondly, it will appear that, instead of exposing Ward’s book and its patrons, whoever they may be, you have betrayed your own friends and your cause. Thirdly, so far from preventing another edition of the Errata, I am satisfied that your Analysis

of the matter, and is not one whit truer. I really believe the publication to have originated in the professional speculation of a very honest bookseller. As far as regards myself, I again assert, and defy contradiction, that the work was printed before I saw Ireland, or knew any thing of the matter; and that, not having seen, down to this moment, the Irish edition of Ward’s Errata, I am at a loss to know where materials could be found for writing the life of that extraordinary man, William Ward.

(1) These words form part of the title page.

(2) Pp. 3, 4.

tower has been destroyed, but is now replaced with open wood work, which fits it for a belfry. At Montrath I surveyed, with grief, the scene of the late outrageous riots of the Orangemen, on the anniversary of the battle of Aughrim, July 12, which ended in the death of the late worthy priest of the parish, the Rev. Mr. Duane. I happened to meet on the spot his weeping father, and some of his other friends, who drew a most horrible picture of the scene which had been there exhibited. Amongst other things they complained that one of the actors in these scenes, who had been condemned, at the late assizes, to six months imprisonment, was released at the end of the first month; using, at the same time, much such language as that which the Apologist for the Catholics says is familiar to them: "There is no justice for us." (1). With these feelings amongst the populace, I was not surprised at the post boy's muttering, when I told him to stop his horses opposite to the chapel of Montrath: "we will have our revenge." I preached the forgiveness of injuries to him, from the doctrine and example of our Redeemer, in the most forcible manner I could; but I will not answer for it, that I made a convert of the post-boy. A wise and firm government would effectually put a stop to these dangerous triumphs repeated every year, and more than once

(1) See an Historical Apology for the Irish Catholics, by William Parnel, Esq. 1827.

in the year, of the few over the many ; or rather, it would give equal laws to both parties, by which means they would soon forget their mutual injuries.

At Monasterhaven, finding the barge setting off for Dublin, we quitted our chaises, and took our passage on board of it. I found it to be a neat and convenient vehicle, particularly for a student ; and accordingly I availed myself of the facilities it afforded both for writing and reading. It also furnished a very good ordinary, with the stinted allowance of a pint of wine to each passenger. I gave you my observations, in my former tour, upon this city, and the unrivalled beauties of its environs. Many of these I have again surveyed with increased delight. In one direction I have viewed Phœnix Park, with the domains of Luke White, Esq. heretofore the family seat of the Lutterels, the diversified banks of the Liffey, Lucan, Clondalkin Round Tower, and Castle Bagot. In another direction, I have skirted the north side of Dublin Bay, which terminates at the new harbour and the bold promontory of Howth. In a third expedition, I passed by the Black Rock and Bray, to the charming situation of Cabinteely, belonging to Mr. Byrne, near which I beheld the largest Druidical altar I ever beheld (1). In a fourth,

(1) This vast altar-stone measures 16 feet in length, 14 in its greatest breadth, 6 in its thickness at one end, and 2 at the other, Neither of the imposts at Stonchenge, nor that at Kitcoty's house,

I entered through an astonishing aperture, called *The Scalp*, amongst the Wicklow mountains, and viewed the romantic glen of *The Dargle*, the chosen retreat of the great Mr. Grattan. The variegated beauties and wonders of this situation must fill the mind of every visitor, whose attention is not in part taken off, as mine was, by contemplating the qualities of its illustrious proprietor, his unaffected simplicity of manners, his native benignity, kindness, and hospitality. But such is the character of great minds in general, while little minds are found to be a composition of affectation and selfishness.

In the city from which I write to you, I have been charmed to see the numerous Catholic establishments of charity and piety, not only flourish, but also increase, under the fostering piety and zeal of my Rev. friend the Catholic Archbishop, and his religious clergy, and through the munificent charity and personal exertions of many individuals, of each sex, belonging to their flock. I was particularly delighted with the piety, order, and neatness which reign in the Catholic Orphan House, lately instituted at Harold's Cross, where a certain number of religious ladies have *devoted their lives* to the support and education of the poor outcasts of society in

in Kent, bears any sort of proportion with it in bulk. It rests in an inclined position, on seven other large stones, and is situated at a place called Brennan's Town.

question. I was equally pleased at seeing that my honoured friends, the Ladies of the Presentation, had divided themselves into two communities in different parts of the city, in order to educate a greater number of poor female children. Nor was I less edified at the industry, modesty, and penitential tears of the happy converts, whom I saw and exhorted at their house in Townsend-street. — But these and other heartfelt pleasures, which I have enjoyed during my present residence in Dublin, have received a bitter alloy, from the violent dissensions which agitate the Catholics of this metropolis at the present moment, and which threaten the worst of consequences to our common religion. I should be sorry to acquaint you with the coarse and unchristian language which has been printed against me, in consequence of my refusing to publish in the newspapers the particulars of a commission with which I had been honoured by the Catholic bishops of Ireland; because this would lower the idea which I have endeavoured to give you of Irish civility, generosity, and hospitality. And I should regret still more to repeat to you the indecent and schismatical language which has been held and printed against these bishops by persons professing themselves Catholics; because this might lead you to suppose I had deceived you, when I have so often told you, that we had a living speaking tribunal, namely, that of the bishops themselves, for deciding upon, and

settling all dissensions that may arise amongst us regarding ecclesiastical matters, as the one in question incontestably is (1). All that I shall

(1) The question at issue regards a certain change in the mode at present followed of recommending candidates for episcopal powers to the holy See, which change our parliamentary friends represented as necessary for effecting the desired emancipation of Catholics. It is admitted, on all hands, that the present mode, though primitive, wise, salutary, and, in itself, unexceptionable, may admit of certain alterations; as in fact, this point of discipline has been altered at different periods, for the greater good of religion. But of this matter it is for the Bishops and Head Pastor alone to judge, and to decide upon its expediency or in expediency: they being exclusively *the legislators of discipline*, as they are *the judges of faith*. Conformably with this doctrine, it will be found in the pages of ecclesiastical history, from the Acts of the Apostles down to the latest Concordata, that whatever interference any lay persons have ever lawfully exercised in the appointment of Pastors of the Catholic Church, they have exercised it by virtue of a concession and delegation from the Church herself.—It is in vain that one party alledges a pretended *natural right*; a second party a right of *temporal sovereignty*; a third party a right connected with *natural independency*; a fourth party a right arising from the claims to *civil privileges* to exercise power in this important religious concern. No one, nor all of these pretensions put together, can form any valid claim to it: let the illustrious Bossuet speak to this point with his accustomed force and perspicuity. The following passage deserves the attention of Christians, and particularly of Catholics, at the present period. “Thus speaks the Catholic Church to her children: you are a people, a state, and a society; but Jesus Christ, who is your king, holds nothing of you; his authority is derived from a higher source; naturally you have no more right to give him ministers than you have to appoint him to be your king. Thus his ministers, who are your pastors, derive their authority from the same high source that he himself does; and it is essential that they should come to you by an order of his appointment.” Variations, Book xv. See also the Divine Right of Episcopacy and Ecclesiastical Democracy Detected, by the present writer.

say is, that the intemperance which I complain of is that of a few persons, compared with the whole body of Irish Catholics; and that the storm itself, we may hope, will be of short continuance in proportion to its violence.

I have the honour to remain,

Sir, &c.

J. M.



SUPPLEMENT.

LETTER I.

TO THE AUTHOR OF REMARKS,

*Occasioned by some Passages in Dr. Milner's Tour
in Ireland.*

SIR,

IT will be a saving of some trouble and paper in needless circumlocutions and innuendos, if I say at once that I suppose myself to be now answering the publication of Sir Richard Musgrave. The following are my reasons for entertaining this supposition. *First*, Different persons, who have the best means of gaining information upon the subject, agree in attributing the work to him. *Secondly*, As the historian of "The Rebellions in Ireland," must have deeply felt the discredit into which the "Letters from Ireland" have brought his laborious compilation, by the number of falsehoods and fabrications which they have discovered in it, and as the author of them is not celebrated for the most forgiving temper, it is natural to suppose he would make some attempt to avenge himself upon the writer of those

letters. *Thirdly*, There is reason to doubt whether any other author, except he who has contrived to tell eight palpable falsehoods in about as many lines, concerning my deceased friend Dr. Walmesley's publication (1), was capable of reporting so many glaring untruths concerning my pretended "literary labours in Ireland," as are heaped together in nine or ten pages of "The Remarks." *Lastly*, The motive which the author of "The Remarks" assigns for concealing his name, evidently applies to the historian of "the Rebellion," and, as I hope, to no other writer. He says, that "things are now come to such a pass, that all the enemies of our present establishment may, with safety and applause, put their names to their writings, whilst those who would wish to defend the State and the Church, where they are attacked, *dare not in common prudence avow their publications*" (2). The latter assertion, as it regards other Protestant authors, is notoriously false and absurd; but it is quite consistent, and probably true, when adopted as an excuse for an incognito, by the historian of "the Rebellions;" as that writer could not attack my letters, without either proving the Catholics to have a creed which obliges them, "not to keep their oaths with heretics," but "to drive them out of the land with fire, sword, faggot, and confusion" (3); or else pleading

(1) See above, pp. 98, 99.

(2) Remarks, p. 45.

(3) See above, p. 100.

guilty to the foulest slander that ever was forged by hypocrisy and malice against an insulted people.

I observe, Sir, that the first part of your pamphlet is taken up with an inquiry into the motives for my first voyage to Ireland: and you applaud your presumed sagacity in discovering, from the circumstances of my having had business at Maynooth (which is true), and of my "visiting every convent and college in "the island" (which is false), that I must have "crossed the channel upon a *particular mission*, "namely, for the purpose of encouraging the "refractory, and confirming the wavering among "the Roman Catholics in their opposition to, and "rejection of a plan to separate their Church "from the Court of Rome" (1). When I compare this and similar passages in your Remarks with the assertions of certain late newspaper writers, professing the Catholic religion, that I was "sent over by the minister as the successor "of Lord Redesdale, to grind down the faith "and morals of Catholic Ireland," I cannot help smiling at your opposite blunders, and remarking to my friends, that, while you are both in the wrong, you mutually refute each other.

The real motives, then, of my voyage, were precisely those which I have assigned in my "Irish priest-like book," as you call it; if any one can tell what sort of a book that is. I

(1) Page 7.

agree with you, Sir, that my tour has answered other secondary purposes which I had not in view when I undertook it: but it so happens that you have not, by accident, hit upon any one of these, in your account of “ my nefarious labours in Ire-
 “ land,” as you term them. But, since you are so extremely curious, and ask so many questions on this matter, I will fairly tell you what these secondary purposes were, after I have examined what you report concerning them. These reports constitute that mass of falsehood concerning myself, of which I said that no other writer, but the historian of the Rebellions, was capable of heaping up so much of it within so narrow a compass. “ The precipitancy,” you say, “ of
 “ this visit (to Maynooth) has confirmed many
 “ in their belief of the report, that Dr. Milner
 “ came over on a particular mission. Nay, it has
 “ been further reported, that among the books
 “ and papers in his trunk, the Dr. brought over
 “ an old copy of *Ward's Errata to the Pro-*
 “ *testant Bible*, and a copy of the same *Ward's*
 “ *Controversy of Ordination*; of both which
 “ works Dr. Milner is reported to have procured
 “ a new edition to be printed by subscription.
 “ And it is also reported, that Dr. M. himself
 “ wrote the *Preface to Ward's Errata*, than
 “ which, be the writer *whom* he may, a more au-
 “ dacious attack against the established religion
 “ has not been published. It is rumoured, that
 “ before he left Ireland, he set on foot a periodi-
 “ cal publication, called *The Irish Magazine*,

“ which, be the editor and contributors *whom*
 “ they may, is one of the most audacious,
 “ &c. (1) — Whoever reads the pamphlet by a
 “ *Christian Philosopher*, &c. will think with me,
 “ that Dr. Milner is the said Christian Philoso-
 “ pher.” How strange it is, that in this whole
 string of facts, so confidently reported, there
 should not be a single one, nor hardly a single
 collateral circumstance, that is not a direct false-
 hood. For first, I did not go over to Ireland upon
 any *particular mission*; nor is my journey to
 Maynooth any *confirmation* of my having gone
 over upon such a mission: nor did I carry over
 with me *any copy of Ward's Errata*: nor *any copy*
of Ward's Controversy of Ordination: nor *any*
books at all (except my prayer book and the New
 Testament): nor *any papers*: nor had I *any*
sort of trunk or box with me on that occasion,
 nor any thing resembling a trunk or box (2).

(1) This libeller elsewhere calumniously insinuates, that I am the author of “ a curious Essay entitled the Antipopery Club at “ Fitzpatricks,” p. 38, thus trying to excite the Catholics against me, no less than government.

(2) The positiveness with which the writer speaks of my pretended *trunk*, and the *contents* of it, might lead persons acquainted with his official situation, and his readiness to perform the lowest services of the state, even that of an executioner, to suppose that he was the identical custom-house officer at the Pigeon-house, of whose *plucking* I have so heavily complained, p. 6. The equal positiveness with which most of the above-mentioned falsehoods are asserted, joined to other circumstances, have persuaded me that this same writer drew up and circulated amongst the Members of Parliament, on the 25th of last May, the day on which debates on the Catholic Petition commenced, a hand-bill inscribed “ On the reverence to be “ paid to a solemn oath as taught by a Vicar Apostolic, &c.” In this

Nor did I procure the former work to be *printed by subscription, or otherwise*; it having been printed before I went to Ireland. Nor was the latter work printed *by subscription at all*, nor by *my means*; for I did not so much as know that it was printed, till you informed me and the world that I was the publisher of it. Nor did I write the *Preface to the Errata*, which every one who looks at it sees to be part of the original work. Nor did I *set on foot the Irish Magazine*, or ever *contribute a single line* towards it: nor do I know who its *editors or contributors* are, or any one of them. Nor did I write the *Address of the Christian Philosopher*: the author of it being known in Dublin, though I have not the pleasure of his acquaintance. For the truth of the several particulars concerning the different publications I refer to the booksellers and printers of Dublin. As to the nature and contents of my baggage, not having other evidence, I leave the reader to judge between your word and mine. After all, Sir, I should not have been so anxious about these egregious falsehoods, if you had not by

hand-bill the libeller, misrepresenting an argument which I had urged against Sir Richard Musgrave, to shew that Catholics are not idolaters, exclaimed, "Henceforward, whose life or property is safe, when either may be taken away by evidence upon oath, when the person to whom it is administered is taught to believe, he only kisses the leather and paper of a book, whose contents are represented as erroneous and undeserving of respect!" The only circumstances which I complain of respecting this hand-bill, are, that the author of it concealed his name, and that he circulated it one day too late for me to counteract its malicious tendency.

means of them led Dr. Ryan and Dr. Elrington to make those warm attacks upon me, which I could not repel without entering upon the two points of controversy for which I have the least taste, and which, of all others, I have hitherto most carefully avoided ; and if you had not also thereby drawn upon me certain severe reflections, or insinuations, in the two Houses of Parliament, particularly from one Right Rev. Prelate, who seems not to be sufficiently informed of the degree of credit due to his informant.

Having refuted your account of these matters, I will now, Sir, as I promised, gratify your curiosity, by telling you what those secondary purposes really were which my tour has answered ; independently of the primary ones mentioned in my first letter, it has then enabled me to state to my countrymen several of the remaining grievances which the Catholic inhabitants of Ireland still endure from men of the party and disposition of the writer of the Remarks, that is to say, the chief existing obstructions to the peace and welfare of the British empire.—It has drawn the attention of the legislature to that unnatural, cruel, and impolitic system of spending the public money in purchasing the children of Catholics, in order to educate them in the immoral and dangerous principles of the charter-school catechism. The system itself of the charter-schools is shaken, and their catechism exploded and suppressed. I need say no more concerning it, when I state that you yourself have been forced

to give it up as indefensible (1). The tour has moreover led me to vindicate the primitive apostle and religion of Ireland, from the misrepresentations under which they were sinking. The tide of public opinion, upon these points, has now turned, both in England and Ireland; and I trust that no writer, who has a character for literature to support, will henceforward undertake to prove upon historical grounds, that there was no such man as St. Patrick, or that the first Irish Christians were Protestants, or that they derived their Christianity from Eastern Quartodecimans instead of the Roman See. Lastly, my tour has put me upon reviewing that ponderous performance "The Memoirs of the "Rebellions in Ireland;" which review has terminated in a clear demonstration that this work of mischief and malice, is a compound medley of misrepresentation, forgery, and absurdity.

I proceed now to the substance of your "Remarks:" having employed your first ten pages upon inquiries into the motives of my voyage to Ireland, and my employment while I remained there, you spend almost as many in carping at the Royal establishment of Maynooth, particularly at the plan of studies followed, and in proposing a number of questions concerning it. Your sarcasms having fallen pointless to the ground, I shall leave them there, and proceed to answer your questions: strange as these will sound in

(1) See the concluding note in the Remarks, p. 49.

the mouth of a man who professes to have studied at an university, You ask, "What are defensions?" (1) — Johnson will inform you that a *cause* may be *defended* as well as a *place*. In a word, defensions are scholastic exercises, in which students support by argument a variety of positions in the sciences which they have studied. You inquire next, what is *Dogmatic Divinity*? (2) — It means *doctrinal*, or speculative divinity (from *dogma*, a doctrine), in opposition to *moral*, or *practical* divinity. Here I ascertain that your ignorance is not affected but real; as otherwise you would not have undertaken to "supply from " the Dublin Almanac another Lecturer, viz. one " in Dogmatic Divinity," in addition to the Lecturer on Speculative Divinity whom I mentioned. You want to know, what are *dictates*? They are the *vivá voce* lessons of a professor, which lessons, amongst us, it has been customary for the students to take down in writing. You appear to boggle at the word *restitution* (3), as

(1) P. 14.

(2) Ibid.

(3) P. 17.—It is well known that the practice of confession among the Catholics is productive of many restitutions.—I do not mean to find fault with the morality of our public tribunals; but I am free to say, that it falls greatly short of that which prevails in our tribunals of confession, as appears by the following anecdote. About ten years ago a man of Dublin, not originally a Catholic, but who, like many others, was desirous of dying one, thinking himself in imminent danger of death, sent for a priest, whose name was Fitzsimons, to attend him. What passed between them must, of course, ever remain an inviolable secret, except what afterwards appeared publicly, namely, that the sick man put 50*l.* into the

connected with the *virtue of justice*.—It is fit, then, Sir, you should know what our moral professors teach on this head, which is, that if any man has injured his neighbour in his person by cruelty, in his property by fraud or arson, or in his reputation by misrepresentation or calumny, he is strictly bound to make to the injured party all such satisfaction, called *restitution*, as it is in his power to make. I have said that your ignorance is in part real; whence I conclude that some of your questions may be seriously put. But when I see you deliberately misquoting the author whom you undertake to answer, as you do a certain writer in the Evening Herald, concerning the theological course of Maynooth College; when I find you substituting *Confession* for *Confirmation*, *virtues* for *vices* (1), foisting in some words, and leaving out others, I maintain you are guilty; not of affectation, but of an unpardonable fraud.—After all, it seems you will not be satisfied unless I furnish you with a catalogue of all the theologi-

priest's hands, to remit (without answering any questions) to a Merchant of that city, with whom he had lived as clerk. The priest paid the money, and took a receipt for it. In process of time the clerk regained his health, when standing in need of the 50 l. he sued the Merchant for it, and actually recovered it by the verdict of a jury, under the direction of Lord Avenmore, on the ground of its having been paid without any apparent consideration for it.

(1) The writer of the Remarks makes his correspondent, Academicus, say, that they teach at Maynooth, “*The moral virtues* and “*the virtues opposite to them*,” p. 17.

cal books in the library at Maynooth ! Though I am not competent to give that, yet I fancy it will not be difficult for you to procure it, if you will pay a clerk for transcribing it : still I doubt much whether you will be much the wiser for having it. I can, however, inform you of what is evidently more to your purpose than a catalogue, namely, that the dogmatical professor of Maynooth has, within this fortnight, published a most elaborate Treatise on Religion (1), which, I am sure, will gain him and the College much credit at Oxford and Cambridge, whatever you, Sir, may think or say of it.

On the subject of proselyting, which you next introduce, you are outrageous and insulting. You call my *Letters to a Prebendary* “an artful and daring work,” intimating your regret that I was “suffered to remain in the country an hour after writing it (1).” In this language, Sir, I recognize the genuine spirit of an Irish Orangeman. Had you the slightest pretensions to the character of a man of letters, instead of threatening me with persecution, you would have endeavoured to shew that my work consisted of false reasoning and misrepresented facts. But you were sensible that in this attempt men of greater talents than fall to your share have failed!

(2) Tractatus de Religione ad usum Theologiæ Candidatorum ;
“Autore L. E. Delahogue, S. T. Doct. et Prof. Dublin, Fitzpatrick.

(1) Pp. 21, 21.

You then proceed to challenge me to name a certain Protestant Lady who feeds and cloaths Catholic Children on the condition of their being educated Protestants, (as if you thought that practice dishonourable in an individual which you defend as honourable in the government.) You likewise call upon me to mention what landlords require their Catholic tenants to send their children to Protestant schools, or turn them out of their farms on account of their being Catholics. I answer, that you certainly know of a lady near the capital who answers the first description ; that you have probably heard of a landlord in one of the eastern counties who answers the second ; and that you certainly must be informed of another landlord in one of the southern counties who answers the third, he having lately dismissed from his estate, at one and the same time, not less than 200 Catholic tenants, orderly men, and who had always been punctual in the payment of their rents.

The transition from proselytism to charter-schools was quite natural. You admit that they were instituted and are still supported at an enormous public expense, for this purpose : but you defend the purpose. My opinion is, and I am sure it is that of all my countrymen who understand the matter, that this remnant of the old persecuting code is the most barbarous and unnatural part of the whole of it. I have exposed the cruelty and immorality of buying up (you call it *taking up*) the children of the poor,

changing their names, and transporting them to distant provinces, for the avowed intent that the child may never know its parent, nor the parent its child, and that the latter may be systematically educated to hate the former. I have also shewn that this unnatural practice exposes the son unwittingly to strike and wound his own father, and the father unwittingly to marry and commit incest with his own daughter. — No matter for all this, you say ; though the *thing itself is bad* (1), yet the *practice of it* is evidently good, from the *hatred* which the *Papists* bear to it. Barbarity, incest, any thing but Popery !—Such is Orange morality !——But you add : “ Not *one* of the children admitted into “ the charter-schools *are* or *were* purchased : “ they are orphans, or they are voluntarily entered by their indigent fathers or mothers ; “ and, in the latter case, no child is now ever “ admitted without an attestation from under the “ hand of the parents, or some near relation, “ that the child is entered voluntarily (2).” And this attestation, or deed of contract, you would have me admit as a proof that the children are not sold and bought ! Are, then, the peasantry of Ireland more destitute of natural feeling than the lamia or the ostrich of the desert, that they wish

(1) The Remarker expressly states that the Charter-schools are *bad*, but then he says the *Papists are worse*, p. 28.

(2) P. 35.

to abandon their infant offspring, and to have no further relation with them for time and for eternity, without any temptation for so doing? Or rather, is it not that they are bribed to make this sacrifice by a pecuniary premium, namely, that of releasing them from the expense of maintaining their children in future.—Why, Sir, the very argument you bring against me supports my statement; and the ceremony of the parent's attestation proves the transaction to be a *sale* and a *purchase*!—But after all: is such a bargain registered in the sight of the Lord of nature? And will it be a crime, as you intimate it will be, (in pleading for the practice of interchanging the children of the northern and southern districts) if a child should fly from those who have purchased it with money, to the arms of its natural mother; or if that mother who sold her child to keep it from starving, should, when in better circumstances, again receive it to her embraces? I answer NO; and I say, that the means adopted by the charter-schools for retaining their purchased victims, are as contrary to nature, as those were by which they first acquired them. You next deny that “these schools are confined to “Papists: as Protestants,” you assert, “are admitted into them; though certainly popish children are preferred (1).” This is as much as to say: “If we cannot indulge our bigotry to the

“ full extent of our wishes and means, by purchasing a sufficient number of Popish children from their parents and their religion, we will then exercise our charity by giving support and education to the children of Protestants, to whom this will be a benefit, (as there will be no change of names, country, or religion, and no permanent separation from parents,) though certainly the bigoted motive is preferable.”

In concluding this matter, you dispute with me about the sums voted and expended upon this system of Protestant proselyting. The sum voted I stated at 25,000 l. per annum. The fact is, this year 23,018 l. were voted by parliament for this purpose. The total income I stated at 60,000 l. per annum. Now, Sir, if to the 23,018 l. paid out of our taxes, are added the 10,000 l. per annum, which, you allow, the Incorporated Society possesses in lands and funds, likewise the annual value of the premises which they occupy, and the average amount of donations and bequests, I believe I shall be found to have made a very moderate estimate of the whole sum: without taking into the account the Bluecoat-School, and a variety of other schools and institutions, which may all be considered as so many branches of the Charter-School institution. Notwithstanding all this, as you yourself remark, a great proportion of the children, thus proselyted at such an enormous expense, return again to the religion of their parents, and in three at least, out of the four provinces of Ireland, this religion

is increasing at a rapid rate (1). What does this prove, but the futility and absurdity of the expensive system which government is pursuing ; and that since it cannot proselyte the Catholics, nor root them out, nor transport them to Canada, as an *evangelical* member of parliament has proposed, the best way is to let them believe in transubstantiation and the Pope, and to adopt them as emancipated subjects.

You return from what you term your digression concerning the Charter-Schools to your favourite (but as I thought exhausted) subject ; the motive of my voyage to Ireland. It seems you have “ collected fresh evidence that this “ was to persuade the R. Catholic Clergy to re- “ sist, by every means in their power, any mo- “ dification or new arrangement of their present “ government (2).” This evidence is drawn from a passage of my Letters, in which I express my conviction that “ the Catholic Bishops and “ Clergy are not to be bought at any price what- “ soever to form a separate interest from that of “ their flocks, and that they will not even ac- “ cept of pensions, except upon a footing of in- “ dependency, and as part of a general arrange- “ ment for the relief of their body (3).” To do you justice, Sir, you are not the only person who has argued in this manner from the passage in question. A Noble Lord, who once filled the chief efficient situation in your island, read it at

(1) P. 27.

(2) P. 35.

(3) See above p. 35.

full length in the illustrious assembly to which he belongs, on the 27th of last May, by way of proving that I was thwarting the plans of government. But I was powerfully vindicated on this head by a justly celebrated statesman there present; and I have no difficulty in confessing that I still retain the same opinion upon this matter which I have published. Strictly loyal on one hand, and rigidly orthodox on the other, I shall approve of every fresh pledge of our attachment to our king and country, which the guardians of our religion, its prelates, may deem consistent with its doctrine, its discipline, and its safety, and which they may freely and disinterestedly offer: but I shall ever protest against our Church becoming dependant upon a Protestant government, as would be the case, if, in the existing circumstances, the clergy touched the public money. And I shall always adhere to the axiom of my deceased friend, the great Edmund Burke, that “the professors of one religion are not proper persons to appoint the ministers of another.”——After all, Sir, this statement of my objections against our clergy’s becoming pensioners of the state, contains no better “evidence” as to the object of my voyage to Ireland, than any other passage whatever of my book does.

You next treat us with different and dull quotations from Lord Redesdale’s “Thoughts on the Catholic Question,” which, as I have for-

merly answered, I shall here pass over (1). I wish, however, that, when you or any other retainer of that noble Lord, - whether Catholic or Protestant, lends himself again to forward his schemes against our Church and Hierarchy, he would inform the public whether his Lordship, in 1791, when he introduced into parliament the bill for our relief, was ignorant that our Church is essentially episcopalian? Secondly, that this

(1) "It is the R. Catholic Hierarchy which is the bane of the country." *Thoughts on the Catholic Question*, attributed to Lord Redesdale. "A vast majority of the R. Catholics of Ireland would be quiet, if their priests and agitators would let them be quiet; and the majority of their priests would probably be quiet, if the ambition of their superiors did not goad them to action. It is the R. C. Hierarchy, preserved in Ireland, which is the bane of that country.——The greater part of the R. Catholics of Ireland dread the return of this despotism, (that of their clergy) but they dare not open their lips against it, except in low and secret murmurs, whilst they are compelled to applaud the exertions of its establishment in language which the poor heart would fain deny but dares not!"——Poor, poor hearts, who were forced to whisper to the Lord Chancellor, "in low and secret murmurs," the conviction of their souls, which they did not dare to express in the hearing of their priests, for fear that they should send them to prison and the gallows, or at least should prosecute and fine them! His Lordship goes on: "A few, with honest firmness, avow their dislike to any encrease of the powers and influence of their priests; and these are principally independent country gentlemen, who feel that they have all that is necessary for the quiet enjoyment of their religious opinions."——But why are the names of these Catholic friends of Lord Redesdale in the two islands always kept concealed both in his pamphlets and his speeches! These honest independent Catholics, so superlatively loyal! These pious Catholics, who combine to restrain the power of their Church at the present day! These self-denying Catholics, who think it right that Mr. M——d should rise to the Chancellorship, and that they themselves should for ever be confined to their present stations!

writer would shew how this ecclesiastical form of government, with its power of excommunication, is more hostile to his Majesty's civil government, than the Presbyterian, Methodistical, or any other form of church government is; all which equally claim the right of excluding refractory members from their society. Lastly, that he would demonstrate in what respects it would be more for the peace and safety of the state that the Catholics of Ireland or of England should live in a state of ecclesiastical democracy or anarchy, than that they should live under their ancient well-ordered hierarchy, which, for its wisdom and order, has been copied by the Established Church.—In my observations on his Lordship's project for the destruction of this hierarchy, I signified, that in case he could persuade the legislature to concur in this his favourite measure, and to pass an act for the purpose, we should make no exterior resistance to the execution of the law, but satisfy ourselves with yielding our lives rather than comply with it (1). At the recital of this moderate and peaceable sentiment, you are petrified with horror! calling it "the most dangerous sentiment that has ever appeared from an audacious pen." You then present your reader with two whole lines and a half of black dashes, — — — — (2), in order to impress him with similar horror! But

1. See above, p. 42.

(2) P. 44.

pray, Sir Richard, if in the course of future contingencies, another Queen Mary were to mount the throne, and to get an act of parliament passed requiring all her subjects to profess their belief in the Pope's Supremacy and in Transubstantiation, how would you act?—I tremble for your inflexible faith on one hand, and your flexible loyalty on the other, in the situation in which I have placed you : but, Sir, you must look it in the face, and must answer me one way or other. Tell me, then : would you become a Papist in obedience to the law ? Or would you meekly yield your life, as I have said the Catholic clergy and laity will do, rather than suffer Lord Redesdale to new model their Church ? Or would you take up arms against Mary, as Sir Thomas Wyatt, Bishop Poyntet, and so many other Protestants did, in defence of their religion ?—Not aware of this obvious retort to which you were exposing yourself, you proceed to assume your ascendancy airs and Orange menaces, by talking of *putting me to prison, and banishing me from the realm*, as a person *who is doing mischief to the state*, &c. (1) Such language, Sir, may do very well for Ireland, where Orangemen claim the privilege of insulting and threatening Catholics in whatever manner they please ; and sometimes of executing their threats, however contrary to law : but on this side of the channel, where the Catholic is not only nominally, but ac-

tually as much under the protection of the law as the Protestant is, it serves no other purpose than to render the person who uses it ridiculous. Return, then, Sir, your rusty Toledo into its scabbard, and, instead of vainly flourishing it in the air, sit yourself down at your desk, and coolly consider, whether it becomes that author to descant upon mischief done to the state by writing, whose principal work has been spurned from the throne, because it is calculated to inflame the resentment of four millions of subjects; and whether it is decent for that man to call for fresh restraints on the press, who stands convicted before the public of fabricating under his own name the vilest calumnies against the great mass of his countrymen! But, Sir, we clearly see what kind of restraints upon the press you are desirous of introducing; they are to be such as will leave you at liberty to publish another close printed quarto of 1000 pages, full of misrepresentation, falsehood, and forgery against the Catholics, but will tie them up from vindicating themselves, and exposing you! They are to be such as will permit you to disfigure the history of past events, but will hinder your opponents from presenting this history in its true colours (1).

(1) Amongst other crimes against the state with which the egregious Remarker charges me, one is for mentioning the infraction of the treaty of Limerick, though he does not attempt to deny the fact. Another is, my calling Queen Elizabeth "an hypocritical

It is with great reluctance and some degree of confusion that I find myself called upon to discuss subjects of ancient literature with the writer of the Remarks and the Memoirs of the Rebellions. Had Dr. Ledwich come forward, to assert his claim to be still called *The Antiquary of Ireland*, he would have found me prepared with historical evidence for still further refuting his extravagant paradoxes concerning the ancient apostle and religion of your country. But as he declines the contest, under the pretext of his age, with what face can you, Sir, present yourself to it, conscious as you are of being utterly unprovided for it? How ridiculous is it, for example, to hear you repeating the words of your master Ledwich: "St. Patrick is not mentioned by any author, or "in any work of veracity, in the 5th, 6th, 7th, "or 8th century; he was not heard of when "Bede died in 735," after I have demonstrated that Bede himself records "St. Patrick the Apostle "of Ireland," in the only passage of his works

"and remorseless princess." It appears that this writer then does not see either cruelty or hypocrisy in Elizabeth's frequent tampering with poor Mary's keepers to put her privately to death, or with her signing the death-warrant and delivering it to her secretary, and then punishing him for sending it to be executed; and with her lamenting the death of the deceased to her son James, and *swearing* that she was innocent of it. I say nothing of her putting to death above 100 priests for high treason, whom, by the testimony of her own feed historian, Camden, she allowed were innocent of that crime. See *Letters to a Prebendary*, 4th edit, pp. 194, 227, 234, &c.

where it was rational to look for such a record, namely, his Martyrology ! (1) Again, have I not quoted the still existing life of St. Patrick by Probus, whom I have proved, on the testimony of Charlemagne's friend, the celebrated Alcuin, to have been a writer of credit in the 7th century ? (2) Have I not referred to the circumstantial account of this saint which occurs in the Annals of our celebrated chronologer Nennius, who flourished at the beginning of the same 7th century ? (3) Have I not vindicated the metrical eulogium of this apostle by his disciple St.

(1) The learned Monsig. Georgi, Chaplain to Benedict XIV. in his Notes on Ado's Martyrology, testifies that St. Patrick's name occurs in the *genuine* copy of Bede's Martyrology, that is to say, in the copy as he left it, without the addition of the subsequent saints made by Florus and others.——N. B. The great Baronius, in his notes on the Roman Martyrology, lamented exceedingly that the ancient Martyrology of Rome, the same which Pope Gregory the Great, at the end of the sixth century, mentioned as being “dispersed throughout Christendom,” could not in his time be found. At length the learned Rosweyde discovered it (proving it to be genuine to the satisfaction of all the learned) at the head of a copy of Ado, in a monastery at Cologne. In this martyrology, or public register, (which was read throughout all the western church within less than 100 years from the death of St. Patrick, his name is thus recorded: “XVI. Kalend. April. (17 Martii) “S. Patricii Episc. qui primus apud Scotos prædicavit.”

(2) I have shewn that our illustrious countryman Alcuin quotes him as an author of respectability in the eighth century. De Pontif. Eborac. apud Gale. This refutes the account of Nicholson and others, who wish to bring him down to the 10th century.

(3) Gale, Cave, Tanner, Butler, &c.

Fieck, who died early in the 6th century? (1) Finally, have I not dwelt upon the Confession of St. Patrick, or the History of his Life, written by himself, which, no less than his Epistle to Corotic, and the Acts of two Councils held by him, is admitted to be genuine by the most able critics (2). These accordingly agree in drawing their narrative concerning our saint from his Confession, in preference to all other records whatsoever ! Now, Sir, if it be true that I have adduced this mass of primitive evidence in proof of St. Patrick's existence, (to say nothing of my other numerous and irrefragable arguments) with what face can you meet me upon this question, without attempting at least to invalidate either the authenticity or the authority of my documents ? To speak plainly, Sir, your confidence has every appearance of impugning the known truth.

I may argue in the same manner with respect to the Pope's Spiritual Supremacy, which, ac-

(1) It is admitted to be genuine by Ware, Harris, Usher, Nicholson, Colgan, &c.

(2) Bollandus, Tillemont, Usher, Ware, Fleury, Butler, &c.—In the present edition I have cited the testimony of the learned Cudean Abbot of Jona in the middle of the 7th century, Adamnan, an author of whom Dr. Ledwich himself speaks with great respect. In his Preface to the Life of his predecessor, St. Columba, he says : “ Quidam proselytus Brito, homo sanctus, *Sancti Patritii Episcopi* “ discipulus, Mavetus nomine, ita de nostro prophetizavit patrono, “ &c.”

according to Dr. Ledwich's system, you deny to have been acknowledged in Ireland before the middle of the 12th century. In vain have I produced a chain of original documents in proof of the contrary, which reach from the period you have assigned, namely, the arrival of Cardinal Papario, with his four palliums, in 1152, up to the very life-time of St. Patrick in the 5th century. Instead of being awed by this body of evidence, you reproach me with my "parade of monkish learning," and my "quotations upon quotations from monkish writers (1)," and you treat your readers with a long quotation from Leland's History of Ireland, whose assertions upon this subject, as might be expected, exactly chime with those of Dr. Ledwich (2.) Such an authority may do very well with novel-readers of the present day, who cannot distinguish between the dates and the authority of Dr. Led-

(1) Pp. 4. 12.

(2) Dr. Ledwich himself is forced to admit that the Bishop of Lis-more, O'Clonarchy, was the Pope's Legate in Ireland at the time when Cardinal Papario arrived there, and that Gilbert, Bishop of Limerick, had been received as Legate before him.—N. B. I am aware that there is a respect and politeness due to each other from writers who are engaged in opposite and the most hostile causes. Still this rule has its bounds. And as a man who had been detected in the commission of any very base action, would be expelled from the company of gentlemen; so, when a writer stoops to threatening, instead of arguing, and publishes manifest forgeries of the most malicious tendency, for genuine records, he can expect no better treatment than to be hunted out of the republic of letters by every member who has the honour and interest of that republic at heart.

wich and Dr. Leland on one hand, and of Venerable Bede and Abbot Cummenius on the other, but must expose the writer, who now appeals to it, to the unqualified contempt of real scholars.

I remain, Sir,

Yours, &c.

J. M.



LETTER II.

TO THE REV. EDWARD RYAN, D. D.

*Author of "The Analysis of Ward's Errata,
"and the History of the Effects of Religion, &c."*

REV. D. SIR,

IT is as unexpected to me as it is unpleasant, to be called out to the field of controversy on the subject of biblical criticism. Those persons who have looked into my theological writings, know that I have been accustomed to adopt a shorter and more satisfactory way of settling religious controversies, than that of sending each well-meaning religious inquirer to hunt through his Bible, from the beginning of Genesis to the end of Revelations, for each text that regards, or that may be thought to regard the subject of his inquiry; then telling him to compare each text with the Latin Vulgate, the Greek Septuagint, and the primitive Hebrew, in the numberless editions and manuscript copies of each of them; and lastly, advising him to consult all the huge commenta-

tors and controvertists, ancient and modern, upon their discordant interpretations of the several texts in question. This, Sir, you know, is your method, if you are consistent with yourself, and speak out.—What I have said, in my Letters to Dr. Sturges, as also in the foregoing Letters, and on every other occasion, is to the following effect : “ The Bible is indeed the
 “ word of God, and deserving of all the worship
 “ we can possibly pay it : but God never in-
 “ tended that all mankind should learn the whole
 “ of his law from *a book*, much less from so large
 “ a book and so mysterious a book as the Bible
 “ is, otherwise he would have told us so, and
 “ would have provided, in his wisdom and
 “ power, that all mankind should be able to
 “ procure Bibles, and should have leisure and
 “ learningsufficient to read and study them. He no
 “ more intended that all men and children should
 “ learn the whole of their belief and practice from
 “ the books of scripture, than the British legisla-
 “ ture has intended that the bulk of the nation
 “ should learn and decide upon their civil duties
 “ from reading over the statutes at large without
 “ the help of judges or tribunals. In one word, it
 “ would obviously be better (both reason and
 “ experience prove it) to have no law at all,
 “ than a law which every individual should be
 “ at liberty to take into his own hands, and ul-
 “ timately to decide upon for himself.—What,
 “ then, do I advise the religious inquirer to do ?
 —My advice is, *Hear the Church* ; that Church

“ which you profess in your creed to be always
 “ *Holy* and always *Catholic*, that living speaking
 “ tribunal, which has decided all religious con-
 “ troversies that have arisen since her foundation
 “ 18 centuries ago, and which Christ, in his
 “ wisdom, has appointed to decide them, not by
 “ any new revelation that he makes to her, but
 “ by her adhering to his divine word once re-
 “ vealed and delivered to her, which she faith-
 “ fully preserves through all ages, as well in writ-
 “ ten tradition as in manuscript and printed
 “ Bibles. Think, for a moment, how you know
 “ that your Bible and each of the several books of
 “ it, (the Canticles for example, or the Revela-
 “ tions) was written by prophets or apostles?
 “ How do you know, that when they wrote those
 “ particular books, they were under the influ-
 “ ence of divine inspiration? How do you know
 “ that these books have not been corrupted or
 “ altered, during the long succession of ages and
 “ of copies and translations through which they
 “ have passed? You have no security, you have
 “ no rational grounds whatever to decide in fa-
 “ vour of your Bible, upon any one of these
 “ points, except the authority of the Catholic
 “ Church, which you profess to believe in when
 “ you repeat your Creed. She says:” ‘ I have
 ‘ preserved these books so carefully through all
 ‘ ages, that while kingdoms and empires, and civil
 ‘ constitutions, and the state of literature and of
 ‘ society itself, have frequently been changed
 ‘ around me, I am sure these books have not

‘ been materially changed ; and I know them to
 ‘ have been originally revealed by *tradition from*
 ‘ *the apostles*. But take notice : the same tradi-
 ‘ tion which tells me that the scriptures are the
 ‘ word of God, and that commits them to my
 ‘ care, tells me also that I am appointed to ex-
 ‘ plain all and every controversy that may arise
 ‘ among the faithful about the meaning of any
 ‘ part of them, by referring to the sense in which
 ‘ my chief pastors in different ages and countries
 ‘ have understood and do understand them.’—
 “ Now, my good religious inquirer, will you be
 “ so inconsistent as to admit the authority of the
 “ Catholic Church when she hands down to you
 “ the Bible, and to reject it when she tells you
 “ that such and such is the meaning of certain
 “ controverted passages in it? Will you call her
 “ a faithful witness on one occasion, and a frau-
 “ dulent impostor on the other?”

Such, Sir, being my short, simple, rational, and satisfactory method of settling religious controversies, I have never hitherto entered into the boundless and craggy field of biblical criticism. But since, Sir, you accuse me of having published a considerable work upon this subject, *Ward's Errata*, and of having set it forth with the Life of the Author (1), and of having done this

(1) Dr. Ryan's words are these : “ It is said that Dr. Milner wrote “ Ward's Life, and recommended the Errata to the Popish Bi-
 “ shops, the Bishops to the clergy, and the clergy to the laity.”
 ‘ This is almost as circumstantial as Sir Richard Musgrave's account

“for the purpose of exposing the Protestant Bible and the Protestant Clergy to ridicule and contempt(1):” and since, upon your credit, as I really believe, more than upon that of Sir Richard Musgrave, I have been severely censured on this account in various magazines, reviews, and parliamentary debates, you cannot be surprised if I should ward off your attack upon me in the best manner I can.

To proceed now to the substance of your work: you tell us, that “It exposes Ward’s book and its patrons sufficiently; that it is likely to prevent another edition of the Errata, and to remain unanswered(2).” Now, Sir, in the first place, you will see that your work is answered, and that by the very person whom you have dared to the contest. Secondly, it will appear that, instead of exposing Ward’s book and its patrons, whoever they may be, you have betrayed your own friends and your cause. Thirdly, so far from preventing another edition of the Errata, I am satisfied that your Analysis

of the matter, and is not one whit truer. I really believe the publication to have originated in the professional speculation of a very honest bookseller. As far as regards myself, I again assert, and defy contradiction, that the work was printed before I saw Ireland, or knew any thing of the matter; and that, not having seen, down to this moment, the Irish edition of Ward’s Errata, I am at a loss to know where materials could be found for writing the life of that extraordinary man, William Ward.

(1) These words form part of the title page.

(2) Pp. 3, 4.

is expressly calculated to occasion one. For if any controvertist on our side of the question is desirous of embarking upon such an undertaking, he will have nothing more to say in vindication of it than what follows : “ I here present you, “ intelligent and learned biblical scholar, with a “ third edition of Ward’s Errata to the Pro- “ testant Bible, by way of answer to Dr. Ryan’s “ Analysis of that book, as he calls it. Read “ and compare them together, paragraph by pa- “ ragraph, attending carefully to all the Doctor’s “ confessions, apologies, explanations, and re- “ marks, in favour of the version which he de- “ fends, but not overlooking, as he always does, “ the acute, learned, and important arguments “ and criticisms which fill every right hand page “ of Ward’s book. After doing this, decide as “ your own judgment shall direct you, which “ writer has the better of the cause.”

To give a general outline of the controversy (for it does not enter into my plan, nor could it be comprised within the compass of one of these Letters, to go into a minute detail of the whole of it) : Ward undertakes to prove in his Errata, that the different English translations of the Bible are all of them, more or less, corrupt. For this purpose he exhibits, on every left page of his quarto book a kind of Polyglot, which contains first a great many texts of scripture taken from the Latin Vulgate ; secondly, the corresponding passages in the English Catholic translation ; of which the New Testament was published by the

Divines of Rheims in 1582, and the Old by the same Divines, when re-established at Douay, in 1609. Thirdly, this Polyglot contains the same passages, as they are found in three different editions of the English Protestant Bible, those of 1562, 1577, and 1579, all which the author maintains to be corrupt. Of these editions, the first is from the translation begun by Tindal in 1526, and finished by Coverdale in 1535, as altered by Cranmer and the Genevan editors; the two latter are from the version called the Bishop's Bible, which appeared in 1568 (1). Lastly, the Polyglot exhibits these texts as they stand in the last Protestant edition which Ward seems to have seen before he wrote, that of 1683, which edition is given from the translation now in use, called King James's Bible, first published in 1610. In this last Ward shews that a great many of the former errors are corrected, but that a considerable number remain to be corrected. I mentioned before that every right hand page of Ward's Errata consists of controversial criticism. —Such is the nature of Ward's book.

Now, Sir, what is the substance of your Analysis of the Errata? It is contained in the following passage of it: "Ward constantly imputes the errors of the first translators of

(1) I take my account of the English Protestant translations from Bishop Pretyman's *Elements of Theology*, vol. ii. p. 18. and also from Johnson's *Historical Account of English Translations*. The Bishop's account of the Catholic version is not accurate.

“our Bible to malice or design : whereas the
 “learned Father Simon ascribes them, in some
 “degree, to a want of sufficient knowledge of
 “the Hebrew and Greek languages. Gregory
 “Martin (1) was justifiable in attempting to
 “expose the errors or supposed errors of the
 “English translation, which had not been cor-
 “rected in his time. But Ward and the present
 “Popish Clergy have not that excuse. If our
 “English translations, which had been published
 “in 1562, 1577, and 1579, remained incorrect
 “till the year 1688, when Ward wrote, then
 “would the Errata be a severe critique on those
 “translations. But as they were corrected in
 “the year 1663, his book was a libel on himself
 “and on those who should republish it. He ad-
 “mits that many errors of our first versions were
 “corrected in our present Bible agreeably to the
 “Popish construction : and surely it was not
 “honourable to insert these errors in his list of
 “errata, nor decent to impute to the fourth edi-
 “tion of a book the errors of the first three (2).
 ——If this is not abandoning, and even betray-
 ing your cause, instead of defending it, I am at
 a loss to conceive what language can be termed
 so. For, to say nothing of the ignorance you

(1) Gregory Martin was the person who was chiefly employed at Rheims and Douay in detecting the errors of the Protestant versions, and in giving the Catholic translation. Ward's remarks are chiefly borrowed from those of Martin.

(2) Analysis, p. 5.

betray concerning the different Protestant translations and editions of the Bible, as if these corresponded with the dates of the copies used by Ward, it seems you are willing to allow me that the numerous and important errors which you give up as indefensible, remained uncorrected in your Bible down to 1688, that is to say, for double the time that they actually disfigured it; whereas they were reformed in King James's version, published in 1610. You see, Sir, that I am not disposed to take any undue advantage of your cause: but the very existence of these errors, joined to the nature of them, together with the period and other circumstances of their prevalence, proves entirely ruinous to it, and gives a decided victory to Ward over you. For, Sir, you are to observe, that this author did not profess himself to be a *biblical critic*, whose object it was to render your text as correct as possible. No: he wrote as a controvertist, and barely made use of the corruptions in question, to prove that the Reformation, so called, had been undertaken and carried on upon false grounds. He begins his book with the following passage: "Our pretended reformers having squared and modelled to themselves a faith contrary to the certain and direct rule of apostolical tradition, delivered in God's Holy Church, were forced to have recourse to the scripture as their only rule of faith.—But their new doctrines, so far from being contained in the holy scriptures, that they were directly opposite to it, they

“ were fain to corrupt the scripture by false
 “ and partial translations, by which they en-
 “ deavoured, right or wrong, to make those
 “ sacred volumes speak in favour of their new-
 “ invented faith and doctrine (1).” He then
 proceeds, after certain general charges and preli-
 minary observations, to point out in his Poly-
 glot these corruptions, with respect to all the
 leading points of controversy between Catholics
 and Protestants, some of them being in the pre-
 sent English Bible, but a great many more
 having existed in the translations, which were
 published and read during the early part of the
 reformation. Now, Sir, if it be admitted, as you
 actually admit, that Ward makes his charges
 good, though it be only with respect to those
 early versions, he clearly gains his cause, and it
 is to no purpose for you to exclaim as you do :
 “ the errors of our first versions have been cor-
 “ rected in our present Bible, agreeably to the
 “ Popish construction (2).” For he fails not by
 anticipation to answer you : “ The change was
 “ made too late to answer your purpose. The
 “ people were deceived by a vast number of cor-
 “ ruptions in the sacred texts, during the reigns
 “ of Henry VIII. Edward VI. and Elizabeth,
 “ till they had in general renounced the ancient
 “ faith and embraced your new system. And

(1) English edition of 1737, p. 17.

(2) P. 5.

“ when this was effected, and the growing sect of
 “ Puritans began to turn these corruptions
 “ against you, particularly at the famous con-
 “ ference of Hampton Court, in the beginning
 “ of the first James’s reign, at last you thought
 “ proper to correct them.”

But I perceive it will be necessary to give you two or three specimens of Ward’s objections, and of your answers to them, in order to shew how completely you yield the victory to him. —As no arguments seem more efficacious for inducing the people to abandon the ancient Church, than to persuade them that the crosses and images of Jesus Christ and his saints, with which Catholics adorn their churches and houses, correspond with the idols of paganism, and that the relative honour (1) which we pay to these

(1) This is still too potent a weapon in the hands of bigoted or unprincipled preachers and controversial writers, for them honestly to forego the use of it. Accordingly, they persist in telling us to our faces, that we do not understand our own theologians, our own prayers, and our own catechisms; in short, that we are idolaters; notwithstanding we cheerfully repeat to them the anathemas printed in the last page of Ward’s Errata; “Cursed is he who commits
 “ idolatry, who prays to images or relics, or worships them for
 “ God.”—They persist in it, that if *I* kiss the representation of my crucified Saviour, I pay divine homage to the materials of which it is composed; but that if *they* kiss the book of the gospels, or uncover their heads to King William’s statue, or bow to his Majesty’s empty throne, (as peers are accustomed to do) the honour and worship pass from the material representation to the thing represented. But if the Dublin Doctors and the Bampton Lecturers are bent upon
 “ leading people by the nose, in making them believe that Catho-
 “ lies are idolaters, when they are not,” as the learned Dr. Monta-

sacred memorials, corresponds with the idolatry paid by the heathen nations to those idols of false gods; so the first Protestant translators of the Bible took care, wherever the words *Idols* and *Idolaters* occur in the text, to translate them *Images*, and *the Worshippers of Images*. This is what Ward charges them with in the several passages which he produces upon this subject, as also with the iconoclasm of destroying all crosses, pious images, and pictures throughout the land, in order to favour such an idea. To this you answer: "Our opponents charge us with misconstruing twelve texts, for the purpose of proving Catholics guilty of idolatry. But six of the twelve being corrected in our Bible, ought to have been left out." Now what is this, Sir, but confirming Ward's objection, instead of refuting it! And what is now the

gue, Bishop of Chichester, 'reproached the bigots' of his time, let them first prove that we have renounced our General Councils, and that we teach our flocks, in private, a different doctrine from that which we inculcate in our public catechisms. The second Council of Nice, which was held on the subject of images, says: "The faithful kiss and respect pious images, but do not pay to them the divine worship which, according to faith, is due to God alone." Act vii. The Council of Trent defines that "There is not any divinity or virtue in the images of Christ and his saints, for which they are to be worshipped, and that nothing is to be asked of them, nor hopes to be placed in them, as, in times past, the pagans put their trust in idols." Sess. xxv. The General Catholic Catechism teaches that "the crucifixes and the pictures of Christ and his saints are to be respected, as representations and memorials of them, but that they have no life, nor sense, nor power to hear or help us," p. 26.

material part of the defence which you set up in favour of the misconstructions which Ward maintains still disfigure the English Bible?—You claim, in the words of Simon, “a certain latitude in favour of translators (1);” and you carry this latitude so far as to allow them even to foist into their English version the word *Image* in two several passages, in which, by your own acknowledgment, it does not occur in the original Greek (2).

In like manner, Ward says that, in order to lessen the authority of the Catholic Church in the minds of those who had been accustomed to look up to her as the interpreter of God’s word, and the heiress of the promises of Christ, the first reformers uniformly omitted the word *Church* where the corresponding word occurs in the original, and substituted the word *Congregation*, which they then generally applied to their respective associations, instead of it (3). He produces seven instances of this corruption in the early translations and editions of the New Testament. Let us hear what you say on the subject: “Ward produces seven texts to shew that we “mistranslated our Bible, for the purpose of in-

(1) P. 25.

(2) Rom. chap. xi. ver. 4. Acts chap. xix. ver. 35.

(3) Ward says, that for the same reason they left out the word *Catholic*, at the head of the Epistles of St. James, St. Peter, &c. using the word *General* instead of it.—Sir Thomas More has a long dissertation against his contemporary Tindal, for substituting *Congregation* for *Church*. See his works.

"juring the credit of his church, and to excuse
 "our apostacy from it. But the former mis-
 "translations of these seven texts having been
 "corrected in our present Bible, should have
 "been excluded from his catalogue of Er-
 "rata (1)." True, you did correct it, Ward
 says, "but not till you had grown up to some-
 "thing like a church, &c. and began to censure
 "and excommunicate your dissenting bre-
 "thren (2)." Again you say: "Ward pro-
 "duces eight texts, in which he accuses us of
 "misconstruing against the Sacrament and the
 "Mass. But five of the eight having been cor-
 "rected in our version, agreeably to his own,
 "should have been excluded from his book, and
 "the other three have no relation to the Sacra-
 "ment, even in his own translation (3)."——
 "Ward produces six texts, which charge us
 "with new translations in defence of the suffi-
 "ciency of faith alone to salvation, without
 "the aid of works. He ought to have excluded
 "from his columns four of the six texts which

(1) The eighth corruption complained of by Ward does not consist in foisting the word *but* into the text; "My Dove is *but* one;" as Dr. R. pretends, but in changing the word *one* (so favourable to the Church's *Unity*) into the word *alone*, as it stood in all the ancient Protestant versions, "My Dove is alone."

(2) See Ward's Preface, p. 12. Engl. Edit.

(3) The intelligent reader who will consult the notes of Ward himself upon these three texts, will be of a very different opinion from Dr. Ryan concerning them. With respect to the first of them, Beza himself confesses that he translated it in the manner he has done, in order to favour the Protestant system.

“have been corrected.”—Really, Sir, considering the scope of Ward’s treatise, the reader would be led to suppose that you had written in concert with him. Most certainly your triumph over him, and over me, as his supposed editor, is exceedingly misplaced ; and I repeat it again, if any thing is likely to occasion another edition of Ward’s book, it is your Analysis of it. As my business is with you, rather than with the Protestant Bible, I shall say nothing of the errors which, in my opinion, still disfigure it. Many of those, which you call trivial, in my eyes, are important(1). Indeed, every thing

(1) For example, it is not of slight importance towards settling the dispute concerning the possibility of leading a continent life, whether we read, 1 Cor. vii. 9, “If they *do not contain*,” according to our translation and according to the Greek, as well as the Vulgate, *ἐἰ δὲ οὐκ ἐγκρατεύονται* : or whether we read : “If they *cannot contain*,” as it stands in the common English Testament. For the very same reason the text of St. Matt. xix. 11. *οὐ πάντες χωρεῖσι τοῦ λόγου τούτου*, is faithfully translated in our Rheims Testament : “All men *do not* receive this saying ;” and unfaithfully in the common Testament : “All men *cannot* receive this saying.” I cannot help noticing another corruption in the common English Testament, which, though small to the eye, is great as to the sense, in as much as it spoils a scriptural argument in favour of the Catholic doctrine concerning the body and blood of Christ being both received under either kind. The Greek text is : *ὥστε ὃς ἂν ἐσθίῃ τοῦ ἄρτου τούτου, ἢ πίνῃ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ κυρίου ἀναξίως, ἐνοχος ἔσται τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ κυρίου*, 1 Cor. xi. 27. “Wherefore whosoever shall eat this bread, or drink “the cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the *body and blood of the Lord*.” Instead of this our faithful version, the Common Testament most unfaithfully translates the passage : “Whosoever shall eat this bread *and* drink this cup shall be guilty, &c.”

is important that regards the purity of God's word.

I give you credit, Sir, for the great merit which you ascribe to our Latin Vulgate and to our English Catholic translation of it by the Divines of Rheims and Douay. I cannot, however, admit that the Council of Trent, or the Divines just mentioned, have set too high a value on the former. The fact is, our Church being under the necessity of pointing out to her children an authentic, unadulterated text of the Holy Scriptures, recommends that which she has always had under her own eye and in constant use, namely the Vulgate, without saying any thing of the other texts, which do not possess the same honour and advantage. The question is not between a version and an original in ordinary circumstances: but here is a version which was partly made and partly corrected by the first biblical scholar, and one of the greatest and most holy men who ever lived, St. Jerom (1), in consequence of an order from Pope Damasus, under the eye of the great St. Augustine, and of that constellation of illustrious Doctors who adorned the Church at the beginning of the fifth century: a version which was made when *the best and purest copies* of the Hebrew, Chaldaic, Greek, and Latin, together with the Polyglots of

(1) This Father corrected the old Latin version of the New Testament, from the Greek and translated the Old from the Hebrew.

Origen, &c. were to be had : finally, a version which has been constantly in the hands of the Western Church in all its extent, during fifteen centuries, and which, in the mean time, has been transcribed a million of times. Hence no material error could creep into the whole, or even into any great number of copies of it (1). On the other hand, the Hebrew and Greek originals having been during many ages chiefly in the hands of wandering Jews and divided oppressed Asiatics, the Church cannot answer for what changes they may have undergone.

With respect to our Rheims and Douay translators of the Vulgate, they were men who had given proof of their integrity by their conduct, and who, before they quitted England to preserve their religion, were the brightest ornaments of its chief university. Consult the learned Historian of Oxford, Anthony Wood (2), for the characters of Dr. Allen, Dr. Wm. Reynolds, Dr. Bristow, and Dr. Gregory Martin. It was the last mentioned divine who had the greatest share in the important work ; “ a most excellent linguist,” says Wood, “ exactly read and versed in the sacred scriptures, who went before all of his time in human literature, whe-

(1) Slight verbal errors of copyists and printers must have found place in every copy and edition ; but it has been the care of the several succeeding Popes to have these corrected as much as possible.

(2) *Athenæ Oxon.*

“ther in poetry or prose (1).” I cannot, in my opinion, bestow a higher praise on the translation itself, than by quoting the only objection that I have ever heard made to it. I give this objection in the words of a learned Protestant Prelate. He says: “It retains so many Eastern, Greek, and Latin words, as to be unintelligible to a common reader (2).” Making due allowance for the exaggeration, this is saying no more than that the translators were too scrupulous in sticking to their original: which, if it be a fault, is a fault on the right side, being quite the reverse of that which you allow your Tindal and Coverdale, and Mathew and Cranmer to have been guilty of. This is the version which, under the names of the *Douay Bible* and *Rheims Testament*, is now upon sale in folio, quarto, and octavo sizes, by the chief Catholic booksellers in Dublin, Cork, London, and Edinburgh (3). It is true, the language of it, which in many places was become obsolete, has been

(1) The above-mentioned learned biographer gives an extract from a public Oration which was delivered to the Duke of Norfolk upon his visiting Oxford, concerning the celebrated Martin, who then resided with the Duke, in which the orator says: “Habes, Illustrissime Dux, Hebræum nostrum, Græcum nostrum, poetam nostrum, decus et gloriam nostram.”

(2) Bishop Pretyma's Elem. Theolog. vol. ii. p. 16.

(3) Such being avowedly our English Catholic Bible, no wonder that at a general meeting held at Cork for purchasing Bibles and distributing them amongst the poor, a Rt. Reverend friend of mine moved that the Bibles to be so distributed should be of the Catholic version.

modernized and amended, but without any essential alterations, by the late learned and pious Dr. Challoner, Bishop of Debra, and Vicar Apostolic (1).

I cannot bestow the same praise of candour upon you, where you assert that Ward “*falsely*” accuses Luther and other foreign reformers “with reviling the sacred text, and making God “the author of sin (2).” For surely you will not deny that the above-mentioned father of the reformation has, for example, called St. James’s Epistle (because this apostle insists upon the necessity of good works, “an inflated and “chaffy (*straminosa*) epistle (3);” that he has claimed the right of altering the inspired text *according to his own pleasure* (4); and that he has

(1) A few years ago a literary adventurer, Dr. Geddes, undertook to furnish the Catholics with a new translation of the Scriptures, and actually published some volumes of one. He was considered by the public as a Catholic, because he had formerly been one, and because he was too much encouraged by certain Catholics. But the man was not even a Christian, as appears by the profane liberty with which he treats and speaks of the sacred text. This learned Scotchman was certainly a man of first-rate abilities, nevertheless he proved himself to be greatly deficient in that critical knowledge and exquisite taste with respect to our language, which are so essentially requisite in an English translation of the Bible.—His volumes are now upon sale as waste paper.

(2) P. 4.

(3) See Luther’s Preface in Ep. Jacob. in the original Jena edition. See also the manner in which he speaks of the same epistle concerning Extreme Unction. De Captiv. Babyl.

(4) Luther having been reproached by the Catholics with adding the word *alone* after *faith* in his German translation of Rom. iii. 28. “We conclude that a man is justified by faith (*alone*) without the “deeds of the law;” thus vindicates his scandalous corruption of

written a whole book, *De Servo Arbitrio*, in which he maintains against Erasmus, that "free-will is a vain title ;—that God works the evil " in us as well as the good ;" — and that " God necessarily, by his own free will, renders " us worthy of damnation ;" adding that he " said these things, not by way of discussing " them, but of deciding upon them, not meaning " to subject them to the judgment of any one, " but exhorting all the world to submit to " them (1)." It is needless to prove that Calvin, Beza, &c. taught the same impieties.— I must complain of a still greater deficiency of candour in you, where, speaking of these foreign reformers, you say : " If these men, educated in " the Popish Church, committed errors or excesses, they are imputable to that Church (2)." —What, Sir, am I answerable for all that the new privy counsellor, Dr. D. has ever said and done, because he was once a Catholic, and used to serve at mass ? And are the impieties of Hobbes and Tindal imputable to you, because they were the sons of English ministers, and educated Protestants ?

the text : " Sic volo, sic jubeo ; sit pro ratione voluntas. Lutherus " ita vult, et ait se esse Doctorem, super omnes Doctores in toto " Papatu.—Propterea debet (vox sola) in meo Novo Testamento manere, etiamsi omnes Papasini ad insaniam redigantur. " —Pœnitet me quod non addiderim et illas duas voces *omnibus* " et *omnium* (sine omnibus operibus omnium legum.)" Lutheri Opera Germ. tom. v. It would be useless after this to give other instances of Luther's corruptions of the Scripture.

(1) De Servo Arbitr.

(2) P. 5.

It were easy to shew, that the answers which you profess to give at the end of your book, to certain queries which Ward proposes, seldom apply to them, and that frequently you are seen not so much as to understand the matter which you treat of. But this would draw out my letter to an unseasonable length. I cannot, however, refrain from giving one curious instance of the former kind ; namely, where the answer does not at all apply to the question. Ward asks, in his 7th Query : “ Is not the Bishop of Rome the “ chief Patriarch of the western world, and consequently of England ? ” To this you reply : “ Formerly he was ; and in one instance acted as “ a friend to England, by a flagrant act of injustice to the Irish nation. Adrian IV. granted “ Ireland to King Henry II. as if the island belonged to his Holiness, and not to the natives. “ The Ryans lost an extensive territory at that “ time ; and yet most of them have been so infatuated as to continue ever since attached to “ the Popes, &c. (1) ”—You then go on to rail at other Popes, but never once attempt to answer Ward’s query : “ Whether the Bishop of “ Rome is Patriarch of the western world, and “ consequently of England ? ”——To consider, however, what you have said : Are we, Sir, then, to understand you, that, supposing the Ryans had lost an extensive property in consequence of the unjust grant of Adrian IV. which

you know was not the case, would it have been right in them to abandon the Church of which he was the head, by way of revenging themselves upon him? And are we to suppose that you have renounced the faith of your ancestors and family from any such resentment, or by way of indemnifying yourself for your loss of patrimony? Thus much is certain, that all the proselytes made from our communion, are made by the Established Church. We never hear of a Catholic becoming a Presbyterian, an Anabaptist, a Quaker, or even a Methodist. The fact is striking, and I think that Dr. Duigenan, Dean Kirwan, Dr. O. B. and several others whom I could name, are capable of explaining it.

I have the honour to remain,

Rev. Sir, your obedt. Servt.

J. M.

Wolverhampton, Dec. 1, 1808.

LETTER III.

TO THE REV. THOS. ELRINGTON, D. D.

Late Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin:

REV. SIR,

UNTIL the present day, I had been for some time past resolved, and indeed prepared to send you a detailed answer to your late work, entitled: "The Clergy of the Church of England truly ordained, and not obliged to subscribe to damnable contradictions, in answer to Ward's Controversy of Ordination," the rough draft of which reply is now lying before me; and though, Sir, I am sensible of the advantage I hereby give you, in the possible event of a serious debate between us on the subject in question, I am resolved to lay before you an outline of the answer which I intended to make to you.

I begin my treatise, Sir, with stating my motive for replying to you; namely, your implied attack upon me; for you expressly say: "I wish to be understood, whenever I name Mr. Ward,

“to mean the person who has adopted and published his book, and, by so doing, made himself responsible for it, as if he had really been the author of it, and had written it at the present time (1).” Now, as it is publicly known that I have constantly been charged with being the publisher of that book, and as this charge has been brought against no one else but me, it is plain that your very severe blows are aimed at me. I then demonstrate the egregious mistake you are under in this particular, as also in supposing my episcopal brethren to have been encouragers of the obnoxious work. In a word, Sir, I prove you to be a literary Quixote, who fancy yourself combating with a host of gigantic foes, whilst you are only tilting at the puny speculation of a bookseller !

In the next place, I disclaim the attempt of diving into all this long and intricate controversy, because, on one hand, it is of a nature so peculiarly irritating to the Clergy of the Established Church, and because, on the other, it is of no sort of consequence to the defence or truth of my own Church ; on the contrary, I profess to content myself with barely refuting the arguments of Dr. Elrington, and with shewing that he, like Dr. Ryan, injures the cause which he undertakes to support.—I begin by proving that he injures it at his very outset ; since of the four alleged Catholic authors whom he appeals to as favourable to his cause (2), two of them were

(1) Note p. 7.

(2) P. 3, &c.

excommunicated for their errors, the third was only saved from this censure on the same account through the interference of a great King, and the fourth, Bossuet, speaks of the orders of the Church of England in such opprobrious terms, that I should feel greater repugnance in publishing his words, than all the rest of my treatise put together.

I then demonstrate that Dr. Elrington does still greater injustice to his cause, by the too extended ground upon which he places it; and here I shew my candour to him, as I did before to Dr. Ryan, by refusing to take advantage of an important concession which he improperly makes to me.—The first question, in order to decide upon the invalidity of the English Ordinations, is, whether Mathew Parker, the first Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury in Queen Elizabeth's reign, was duly consecrated? The Lambeth Register (which Ward pretends is a forgery) mentions three Bishops (besides a suffragan) as assisting at his consecration, Barlow, Scory, and Coverdale. The next question, then, is, whether these men themselves had received episcopal consecration? It answered Ward's purpose, in different respects, to depreciate these apostate friars (1) as much as was in his power,

(1) Coverdale and Scory were apostate friars, and Barlow an apostate monk. They all three abjured their vows of chastity and religion to follow the liberty of the new gospel. But the two latter abandoned it and returned to their ancient faith in Mary's time, which they again abjured under Elizabeth. Coverdale kept himself abroad during that time.

and to deny that any one of the three had been consecrated. Nevertheless, layman as he was, he knew too much of theology, to assert that a defect in the orders of the *assistant Prelates*, Scory and Coverdale, would have invalidated the consecration of Parker, provided only the *consecrating Prelate*, Barlow, had himself been consecrated (1), and that he used the proper form for that purpose. Accordingly, he speaks of Barlow as of a man “who had been imposed
 “upon the nation for such a Bishop, that on him
 “*must be built, as on a foundation*, the whole
 “Episcopacy and Priesthood of the Church of
 “England (2).” Now Dr. Elrington, as I shew, very unwarily, as well as very untheologically, admits, that “if Ward could prove that *Scory* and
 “*Coverdale* (in addition to Barlow) were *not truly*
 “*Bishops*, it would then follow that *Parker also*
 “*was not a Bishop*, and the succession of the Eng-
 “lish Clergy would be destroyed (3).” It is here to be observed, that Ward has adduced some very strong documents, though not so many as he might have done, against the consecration of Scory and

(1) It is true, the ancient as well as the modern canons prescribe that three Bishops should be present at a consecration. But this is barely a *precept*, not an *essential condition*. It appears by the form used in the Church of England, as well as in the Catholic Church, that only one Prelate is considered as the consecrator.

(2) P. 15.

(3) P. 8.

Coverdale, arguments which Dr. E. is far from having answered in a satisfactory way.

Having enlarged upon this capital blunder of Dr. Elrington, I proceed to the grand inquiry : whether Barlow, who is named as the consecrating Bishop of Mathew Parker, is proved by Ward's antagonist to have himself received episcopal consecration. Ward argues, and it is admitted on all hands, that though special mention is made in the registers of Barlow's *appointment* to the See of St. David's in the year 1535, and of his *confirmation* in it by Archbishop Cranmer, there is no hint of the important circumstance of his *consecration*. Now this defect Dr. E. endeavours to supply by a number of presumptive proofs, which of course I am put upon examining. I shew, then, that this gentleman is under an egregious mistake in supposing that Barlow's *ranking as a Bishop*, and being *admitted as such* to the bench of Bishops in Parliament and in synods, and his being translated to other sees, and even being present, as an *assisting prelate*, at the consecration of other bishops, are any proofs of his having been *consecrated himself*. Arguing on this head from canon law and ecclesiastical history, I shew that it is *episcopal confirmation* alone which gives the Prelate *authority to govern his diocese*, and which properly *makes him the Bishop of it*, together with every *right, privilege, and power* belonging to a Bishop, except the power of conferring orders and confirming children, even though *he never should be*

consecrated at all : whereas if he were even consecrated for a diocese, without being confirmed for it, he would have no right, privilege, or power in it whatever. In this manner I repress the empty triumph of Dr. E. over poor Ward. In like manner I shew that the act of parliament under Henry VIII. which the Doctor refers to, adds no weight to his opinion, as it was made to restrain the power of the Pope, not that of the King ; that Barlow himself, so far from making any account of consecration, publicly preached (which he could have no reason for doing, unless to excuse his own want of consecration) “ that if the “ King’s Grace, being Supreme Head of the “ Church, did denominate any lay man to be “ a Bishop, he would be as good a Bishop as “ himself, or the best in England :” moreover, that his metropolitan Cranmer, whose business it was, according to the canons, to enforce Barlow’s consecration within three months from his appointment, taught and subscribed, in records which I refer to, the same anti-episcopal doctrine which Barlow preached, and that he and most of his time-serving brethren acted upon this principle, when they petitioned the child Edward VI. for a renewal of their episcopal powers, on the scandalous plea that they had terminated with the life of Henry VIII. which powers they were content to receive and hold like a civil office, “ *Durante bene placito ;*” and “ *Quamdiu “ se benegesserint.*”

Such being the prevailing low-church notions

of the prelates themselves about Consecration and Apostolical Succession, in conformity with those of the foreign Protestants (1) at the beginning of the reformation, it might seem useless to take notice of the concessions of the early Protestant writers of this country, or the reproaches of their contemporary Catholic antagonists on the subject; nevertheless, as Dr. E. is so extremely warm, and even violent in his language against Ward concerning it, I go through both these chapters, and I shew that, so far from disarming the latter, he puts new weapons into his hands, or the hands of those who choose to fight his battles.—In conclusion, being foiled in all his attempts to answer Ward's objections on the subject of Barlow's ordination, (the main hinge, as I observed, on which that of Parker turns) the Doctor has recourse to retorsion, and addressing himself to Ward's supposed publisher, that is to me, he indignantly asks me, whether I do not know that twelve other Bishops, whom he names, labour under the same disadvantage that Barlow does, in having no register of their consecration? (2) This challenge, of course, puts me upon investi-

(1) The Catholic Bishop of Naumberg being dead, Luther, a private monk, consecrated his own pot companion, Nicholas Amsdorf, to succeed him. Sleidan, Comment. l. 14. This Amsdorf taught that "good works, so far from being a help, were an impediment to salvation." Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. by MacLaine, vol. iv. p. 28.

(2) One of these prelates was the mild and edifying Cardinal Pole, concerning whose register of consecration, as well as his conduct, I de-

gating the matter ; the result of which is a discovery, that of the twelve Bishops whom he

monstrate that Dr. Elrington is guilty of the most inexcusable misrepresentation. Two instances of this, namely, that the Cardinal "made" the See of Canterbury vacant by the murder of Cranmer," and that " he took possession of it on the first Sunday after that murder," p. 106, I refute by the arguments of the learned Anthony Harmer (Henry Wharton, Chaplain to Archbishop Sancroft) in his " Specimen of Errors in Burnet's History of the Reformation." This author shews that Cranmer was dead in the eye of the statute and canon law of England, and therefore no longer in possession of the archbishopric, upon his being attainted of high treason against Mary and Elizabeth, the two daughters of his benefactor Henry VIII. in favour of Jane Grey, two years and a half before his execution : and that soon after his condemnation he became equally dead in the eye of the Catholic canon law, in consequence of his being deposed and excommunicated by the Pope : so that his natural life was not the smallest obstacle to the advancement of the Cardinal, or of any other person to the archbishopric. Accordingly, the latter was chosen and confirmed Archbishop, and put in full possession of all the spiritualities and temporalities belonging to the see long before Cranmer's death. Nevertheless, it so happened from different causes, that he could not be ordained priest, and of course could not be consecrated till about the time of Cranmer's death. If Ward or I had committed any such egregious blunders, though with no malicious intention, Dr. E. would have exclaimed in his usual style and with a note of admiration : *Proh Pudor !* How averse the Cardinal was from those horrid scenes of blood which disgraced the latter part of Mary's reign all historians testify. And how gladly he would have saved Cranmer's life, at the expense of all the honours and emoluments of the archbishopric, which he was then in possession of, is seen in his humane and edifying letter to that unhappy time-serving prelate, of which the following is an extract : " Si te ab horribili illa, quæ tibi, nisi respiscas, impendit " (non solum corporis sed etiam animæ) mortis sentiâ, ullo modo " liberare possem, id profecto omnibus divitiis atque honoribus, " Deum testor, libentissime anteponerem." Inter Epist. Poli.

—————How different a disposition Cranmer himself evinced whilst he was in power, by the crowds of victims (and those mostly Protestants, and for being Protestants) whom he sent to the fire, I have shewn in my Letters to a Prebendary. See Letter v. p. 175, 4th edit.

sets down as unregistered, two of them never existed in the sees for which he names them; and with respect to the remaining ten, I produce the consecration registers of them all except one, who, as I give reason to believe, was consecrated at Rome.

But beside the question relative to Barlow's being a *consecrated* Bishop, there is another grand question, as you know, Sir, relating to the validity of the form which he must have made use of on the occasion in question; or rather, of the forms in general which were universally used by the Established Church, as well in the ordination of Priests as in the consecration of Bishops, down to the year 1662, when these forms were altered. The subject is delicate, and therefore I shall touch it very slightly and briefly. What Ward maintains, arguing the point from reason and authority, is in substance this. In conferring the peculiar office and power annexed to each holy order, it is essential that a form should be used by the Prelate consecrating or ordaining, expressive of the peculiar office and power intended to be conferred: whereas he says, the form of consecrating Bishops (1), as it stands in the old Ritual, composed by Cranmer, is just as proper for the ceremony of confirming, or lay-

(1) The following is the ancient form devised by Cranmer. The Archbishop says to the prelate elect: "Take the Holy Ghost, and remember that thou stir up the grace of God which is in thee by the imposition of hands: for God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power, and love, and sobriety."

ing hands upon children(1), as it is for conferring the powers of the Episcopacy. He likewise argues that the form of ordaining Priests is equally defective. To this objection Dr. Elrington makes different answers : he says that the mere circumstances of this man being presented for Priesthood and that for Episcopacy, &c. sufficiently determine the power which each candidate receives from the officiating Prelate.— To this I reply : then *no form whatever is necessary* in giving orders, but the whole may be performed by dumbshew. Speaking of the Priesthood in particular, the Doctor asserts that it is and ever was conferred in his Church by the self-same form (Receive the Holy Ghost : whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven, &c.) by which it is conferred in ours : and then addressing me, he indignantly asks : “ Will Mr. Ward’s “ editor call the validity of the orders conferred “ in the Church of Rome in question (2).” This challenge I answer in my detailed letter, (of which I am here giving a rough outline) by a

(1) In cutting down the Catholic Missal, Breviary, Ritual, and Pontifical into the Book of Common Prayer, and that of making and consecrating Bishops, Priests, &c. as well as in framing the Articles, it is plain that Cranmer and his fellow labourers were divided between the fear of the objections of the Catholics on one hand, and that of incurring the censure of John Calvin, who continued for a long time to dictate to them from Geneva, on the other. See Fox’s Acts and Monuments. In no instance does Cranmer’s spirit of Presbyterianism appear so plain, as in his form of consecrating Bishops.

(2) P. 22.

dissertation on the essential *constituent power* of Priesthood, which I prove, from Scripture, the holy Fathers, the Canons, and the Rituals of all Christian Churches, in the East and in the West, from the time of the Apostles down to that of the Reformation, and from the sentiments and practice of God's servants, since the beginning of the world, consists in the *power of offering up sacrifice*. Hence, though you and I should both agree that your form conveys the power of forgiving and retaining sins, Ward intimates that it is still essentially defective, in as much as it neither confers nor is intended to confer the power of sacrificing.—It is true, the Doctor appeals to some ancient liturgies and modern divines against Ward's argument concerning the necessity of appropriate forms of conferring orders. But here also I meet him in an ample discussion of the ancient Canons, Sacramentaries, and Treatises on this subject, from the Apostolical Constitutions down to the passage inserted by him from Bossuet ; which very passage, without quoting his other very harsh and offensive words, I shew makes against the Doctor instead of making for him.

In conclusion, Ward asks in substance this question ; (for studying, as I do, perspicuity and brevity, I take his meaning rather than his words) : “ In case Cranmer's old indeterminate
 “ forms of ordination and consecration were va-
 “ lid and sufficient, what occasion was there for
 “ changing them to a more determinate form in

“ 1662 ? (1) Here Dr. Elrington finds himself quite embarrassed, and is unable to give any better answer than the following: “ Two forms “ may be sufficient and valid, and yet one may “ be preferable to the other (2).” Had he been acquainted with the circumstances of the case, his embarrassment would have been much greater. These I will mention, without making any comment upon or drawing any conclusion from them. The celebrated Chillingworth had an intimate friend, as persons acquainted with his history know, the Rev. John Lewgar, S. T. B. When he entered into the pale of the Catholic Church, he took his friend along with him, and when he deserted it, as being too confined for his belief and practice, he tried to lead back his friend; but he tried in vain. This friend gave himself up in a particular manner to the study of the ordination controversy, upon which he published different tracts. His most famous tract, entitled *Erastus Senior*, now before me, in which he argues strongly against the vague in-

(1) The words marked below in italics are those which were added in 1662 to the ancient form; and these, with other alterations, were sanctioned by the Act of Uniformity passed in the same year. “ Receive the Holy Ghost *for the office and work of a Priest in the Church of God, now committed to thee by the imposition of our hands in the name of the Father, &c.* and remember that thou stir up, &c.”——“ Receive the Holy Ghost *for the office and work of a Priest in the Church of God, now committed to thee by the imposition of our hands.* Whose sins thou dost forgive, &c.”

(2) P. 24.

determinate form then in use, was published in the above-mentioned year, at a time when the convocation was sitting, and when, in consequence of the conferences with the Dissenters, which had been held at the Savoy, several important changes in the Liturgy were agreed upon. To be brief, the force of Lewgar's arguments was felt, and the ordination and consecration forms were altered to their present state; but whether that was done in due time to obviate Ward's objection I need not here mention.

Besides the controversy about orders, you have a second controversy with Ward, or rather with his supposed editor, concerning the Homilies. In defence of these Homilies, now so generally neglected and contradicted by your brethren, you throw down the gauntlet in a manner which renders you answerable for the contents of the whole of them. Indeed, your hardihood is almost unparalleled, when you undertake to reconcile the contradictory passages in these antiquated sermons which Ward has pointed out.—One of these passages asserts that “All sects and degrees of men, women, and children, of whole Christendom, have been at once drowned in abominable idolatry; of all other sins most detested of God, and most damnable to men, by the space of 800 years and more (1)!” while the other teaches that “The Holy Ghost has been always present, governing and preserving the Church from the

(1. Homil. on Idolatry, part iii.

“beginning, &c. (1)” To get out of this dilemma in which Ward has placed you, or rather in which you have placed yourself, you alternately try to break each of its horns, but to no sort of purpose. You first tell us, (after a copious proof of your unacquaintance with the Catholic doctrine, particularly with Bellarmine’s Treatise concerning images) that, supposing the Church of Rome to have been drowned in idolatry during the 800 years preceding the Reformation, yet “the Church of Christ is not confined within the limits of the Church of Rome.” Acting in the character in which you have placed me, that of Mr. Ward’s defender, I prove to you in my dissertation, that the Christians of the East and of the West, of the North and of the South, had no other tenets respecting the article in question, images, during all those 800 years, than the Church of the diocese of Rome itself had, and I remind you of the unlimited nature of the charge of “damnable idolatry,” contained in the Homilies; this being brought against “all sects and degrees of men, women, and children of whole Christendom;” nay, as it is elsewhere expressed, “against all the world.” Being foiled on this side, you turn to the other, and assure us that “a Church does not cease to be a Church by becoming corrupt; a true Church and a pure Church not being synonymous terms.” But this I prove to be an utter mistatement of the case: the real

question being, according to the terms of the Homilies, whether that can be the *true Church of Christ*, which “is drowned in the pit of “damnable idolatry ;” or, to use your own terms, whether that can be “the elect and “faithful people,” the depository of God’s spirit, and sacred orders, the whole collection of which is “drowned in abominable idolatry, of all other “crimes the most detestable of God, and the “most damnable to men ?”

The review of this charge of idolatry against the Catholic Church, led Ward back to his former controversy. Accordingly he has dwelt upon the inconsistency and folly of Protestants deriving their priesthood, and even their very Christianity, from notorious idolaters ; repeating, after your controvertist Sutcliff: “Anti-“christ cannot ordain priests in the Church of “Christ.” To this you answer, from some of our divines, that the schism, or heresy, of the ordaining prelate does not vitiate the orders conferred by him. This, Sir, I admit to be true, provided he retains the due matter and form of the respective orders, and provided he intends to do what the Catholic Church does, and would have him do on such occasions. I shew, however, that the latter is not to be presumed with respect to downright and “damnable “idolaters :” and, by the same rule, I argue that those prelates who neglect the Sacrifice of the New Law, and who held the sacrament to be nothing else but a mere administration of bread

and wine, cannot be supposed to have ordained priests for the characteristical office of their order, that of offering up this sacrifice. I point out the momentous consequences that follow from this principle, and likewise from another of first rate importance, which you have totally overlooked. In a word, I prove, that, though Holy Orders themselves could have been transmitted through these eight centuries of dark idolatry, which the homily and you speak of with so much horror, yet that the *divine mission*, or jurisdiction *requisite* for the *exercise of them* must have become utterly *extinct*; inasmuch as this is lost not only by apostacy and idolatry, but also by heresy, schism, excommunication, or even suspension. Following up this principle, I cannot help shewing, at length, that, though Barlow had transmitted the episcopal orders of our Church, it was utterly impossible for him to transmit its jurisdiction; as likewise I remark on the blundering accounts which you and Burnet give of this transaction. According to these it appears that *Barlow confirmed Parker* (1), and, eight days afterwards, *Parker confirmed Barlow* (2): that is to say, the father be-

(1) "None coming to (Bow Church) to object against the election (of Parker) they, Barlow, Scory, Coverdale, and Hodgkins, *confirmed it* in the usual manner (viz. Dec. 9). On the 17th of December, Parker was consecrated." Burnet's Hist. Reform. b. iii. p. 423.

(2) "Barlow was only a Bishop elect (when he was appointed to consecrate Parker), but not confirmed." Dr. Elrington, p. 51. Parker being consecrated "afterwards he consecrated Grinda, Cox, &c. and *confirmed Barlow and Scory.*" Ibid. p. 109.

gat the son, and the son begat the father ! But I have done with this matter, having already said a great deal more concerning it than I intended to say.

Such, Sir, is an imperfect sketch of the letter which I had prepared, and was upon the point of sending to the press, in vindication of myself from your indignant and unmerited attack upon me. But I have considered, 1st, that such a letter would swell the present work to a disproportionate size ; 2dly, that the subject of it is of a nature so peculiarly irritating, that it is hardly possible to treat of it at length without giving great and wide-extended offence ; 3dly, that it is more for the credit and advantage of our Church that the established clergy should stand upon the apostolical succession, and defend their orders, than that they should contemptuously spurn at them, as the greater part of their eminent writers do in the present age ; 4thly, that the line of controversy which I have hitherto invariably followed upon this subject, has been directed against the low church latitudinarians of the latter class, and not against the few remaining high churchmen of the former description. Upon the two last of these observations I must explain myself. It is then evidently for the credit and advantage of the Catholic Clergy that you, Gentlemen of the Establishment, should claim a succession from the apostles, through our Church ; because thus you cannot pretend to be priests and bishops without allowing us to

he priests and bishops also. Hence we have only to refer the Lord Redesdales and the Musgraves to you, for a refutation of their objections against our hierarchy. Accordingly it is seen, that when a Friar Kirwan, or any other dissipated and loose priest, who is desirous of expatiating in freer fields of belief and practice than our Church allows, he is uniformly admitted into your ministry without any other ceremony than that of abjuring his faith (1), while dissenting ministers of the first distinction who enter into your Church, havenever, since the reign of Charles II, been permitted to officiate in it without reordination.

To speak now of what I call my own line of controversy upon this subject. In case, Sir, you have dipt into my History of Winchester, and the copious dispute which grew out of it between Dr. Sturges, Chancellor of that diocese, &c. and myself, in consequence of my stating that his patron the celebrated Bishop Hoadly, "had undermined the Church of which he was a prelate (2)," you must be informed that one point, which was most warmly contested between us, related to the establishment and continuation of

(1) This Capucin Friar, who rose to the dignity of a Dean in the Established Church, has left standing evidence of his real belief, and of his motives for professing one contrary to it, in a remarkable sermon which he preached and published in London a little before his change.

(2) Hist. of Winch. vol. ii. p. 34, first edit. See also Reflect. on Popery by the Rev. J. Sturges, LL. D. &c, and Letters to a Prebendary.

ministers in the Church of Christ. My respectable opponent professed to follow the system of our former common friend, the celebrated Dr. Thomas Balguy, Archdeacon of the diocese, to whose moderation it was certainly owing that he did not become Bishop of Gloucester, and probably also Archbishop of Canterbury. So great was the authority of the latter in the Established Church, that Dr. Sturges, speaking of the very point in question, says of him : “ Dr. Balguy has
 “ treated this subject with a precision of thought
 “ and a correctness of reasoning almost peculiar
 “ to the author (1),” and that Dr. Hey, Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, thus recommends him in his public lectures : “ As I distrust my own conclusions more
 “ than I do his (Dr. Balguy), if, upon considera-
 “ tion, you do not judge that they are recon-
 “ cileable, I must exhort you to confide in him
 “ rather than in me (2).” I must add, that the several published discourses of this dignitary, were delivered in charges to the Clergy of the Diocese of Winchester, or preached at the consecration of the most eminent prelates and primates of his communion, that they are dedicated to his present Majesty, and that they never have been controverted by any writer except by my-

(1) Reflect. on Popery, p. 22. See also Dr. Sturges's Considerations on the Establishment, in Letters to the Bishop of London.

(2) Lectures in Divinity delivered in the University of Cambridge, by James Hey, D. D. as Norrisian Professor, vol. ii. p. 104.

self (1). I mention these circumstances to shew the high authority of this divine, and to excuse myself from the task of quoting the doctrine of several other modern divines of inferior talents, though of equal dignity.—His definition of a Church is this: “It is a number of persons “agreeing to unite together for the performance “of religious duties.” According to this, as I have elsewhere shewn, there is no need of Christ’s institution to form a Church; and we may with as much propriety speak of, “the church of “Diana of Ephesus, or of Venus of Paphos, as “of the Church of England.” Proceeding to shew the origin of ministers, and of a liturgy, he never so much as thinks of the apostles, or of Christ, but argues, that “It is highly expedient, “if not absolutely necessary, that the offices of “religion should be committed to some certain “persons, and regulated in some certain manner; “but *to whom these offices are to be committed,* “and in *what manner performed, the society itself* “*must judge,* or appoint others to judge for “them. We have here,” he adds, “the first sketch “of what may be called church authority” (2).

(1) Dr. Balguy was perfectly consistent with himself when he answered a question which I put to him at Winchester, in the presence of the late Lord Bristol, Bishop of Derry, &c. that in “case he “had been made Archbishop, and an avowed unbaptized Jew had “been directed to him by the King to be consecrated Bishop of an “English See, he would certainly have performed the ceremony.”

(2) See Discourses, &c. by Thomas Balguy, D. D. Archdeacon, &c. printed by Davies, Holborn, 1785. See also his Sermons on the Consecration of Archbishop Moore and Bishop Hurd.

Thus you see, that this learned and eminent dignitary of the establishment is not quite sure that there ought to be any ministers of religion at all; but if there must be such, he is entirely convinced, that so far from needing an apostolical succession, or stated form of ordination, or worship, the society itself has a right to determine what sort of persons these shall be, namely, whether bishops or presbyters, or occasional preachers; whether they shall be priests or priestesses, and whether these offices shall be conferred by the town crier with his bell, or in any other way, and whether the service of religion itself shall consist in praying, preaching, the sacraments, &c. or in shouting and jumping, according to the form of worship observed by the Welsh Methodists.

Such, Sir, is the latitudinarian system concerning orders, to say nothing of the other branches of it, which I long combated in opposition to the most eminent divines and dignitaries of the establishment. Yet, though the controversy was so public as to find its way into the Houses of Parliament, yet every Protestant of note, as well of the clergy as the laity, whom I knew, or could hear of, except the late Bishop Horseley, declared in favour of my chief opponent, Dr. Sturges, and, of course, in opposition to your system of regular succession, as well as to me (1). It is possible, Sir, that you and your

(1) Amongst those illustrious personages who declared in favour

brethren in Ireland, may not have arrived at the philosophic refinement which, I have said, is so common in England; and that you may, in the sincerity of your heart, have pointed all that train of arguments with which you have thundered upon poor Ward and me. In this case I expect you will ask how members of the establishment could possibly deviate so widely from its primitive doctrine, as my antagonists are proved to have done. I answer this question in the words of the learned Professor of Divinity cited above: "The foundation of all this is *a tacit* " *reformation*, which has taken place in the " Church of late years (1)." Dr. Balguy himself,

of Dr. Sturges and his writings, was the late Lord Chancellor Rosslyn, speaking from the wool sack, July 10, 1800.

(1) Dr. Hey's Lectures, vol. ii. p. 43. The intelligent Overtan asserts that, in virtue of charges which he refers to, of certain prelates now living, the most celebrated for the vigour of their orthodoxy, " an attendance at these Lectures, is, in many cases, necessary as a " qualification for orders." True Churchman ascertained, p. 24.—It may not be amiss to observe, that the celebrated Professor describes this tacit Reformation, as now taking in Socinianism itself. The following are specimens of his public lectures concerning it. " We and Socinians differ only about what we do not " understand.—If we allow one another the use of expressions at " will (and what great matter can there be in what may almost be " called unmeaning expressions), we need never be upon our guard " against each other." Lect. vol. ii. p. 41.—" If the Dissenters join " us, all they need do is to use, or perhaps be present, while we " use a few unmeaning words," (those professing a belief in the blessed Trinity, and the incarnation of the Son of God). " So long " as we clearly maintain the Unity of God, why need others scruple " a few unmeaning sounds, merely because they seem to interfere

though the chief stickler against those who petitioned Parliament for an alteration in the articles, &c. some years ago, yet expressly tells us: “I am far from wishing to discourage the clergy of the Established Church from thinking for themselves, or from speaking what they think, or even from writing, where the importance of the occasion may seem to demand it; I only contend that men ought not to attack the Church from those very pulpits in which they were placed for her defence(1).” He then goes on to insist upon the necessity of keeping up an *appearance of uniformity of doctrine*; which, in other words, is the necessity of deceiving the people, by teaching a doctrine, in matters of salvation, which frequently is directly contrary to the preacher’s own conviction of the truth. The master both of Dr. Balguy and Dr. Sturges, the renowned Dr. Hoadly, Bishop of Winchester,

“with it?” vol. ii. p. 262.—Among the numerous expedients which have been devised for justifying a solemn oath and subscription to certain articles of religion which the swearer utterly disbelieves, is that of Dr. Hey, who maintains that the words in which they are conceived bear a different meaning from what they did formerly. This he exemplified by referring to the statutes of certain colleges, which I presume are equally sworn to with the articles. Concerning these he says: “The clause *I will say so many masses for the soul of Henry VI.* may come to mean: *I will perform the religious duties required of me by those who have authority.*” vol. ii. p. 63.

(1) Discourses, p. 20.

in a sermon which he preached before the late King, still more expressly inculcates this system of religious dissimulation. He says : “ Religious
 “ reflection is not the humour of the times, nor
 “ can men of any sort be brought to examine
 “ their own opinions and popular fashions. We
 “ must, therefore, wait till our people are in a better
 “ temper, gently and gradually correcting their
 “ foolish and erroneous notions and habits : but
 “ still taking care *not to offend them with un-*
 “ *reasonable truths* : nor to *throw in more light*
 “ than the weak optics of men, so long used to
 “ sit in darkness, are able to bear (1).” I have
 supposed, Sir, that you and your brethren in Ireland hold this tacit Reformation in abhorrence ; and yet from a particular circumstance which struck me the other day, when I visited your superb library of Trinity College, I am not without some suspicion that it may have found its way amongst you also. Viewing the bust which go round the gallery, I observed one which, from the freshness of the marble, I judged must have been very lately placed there, and, of course, I should suppose, Sir, with your concurrence, as senior fellow. Impatient to learn what new worthy had been preferred to keep company with

(1) See this quoted by Archdeacon Blackburn, Confessional, p. 376.

the Bacons, the Ushers, the Swifts, and other eminent defenders of the Established Church, I hastened to the figure and found it inscribed with the name of Dr. Clayton, Bishop of Clogher, namely, of that very bishop who so loudly called upon his brethren in Parliament to "amend what," he said, "they knew to be "amiss," asserting that "no two thinking men "ever agreed exactly in their opinion, not only "with regard to all the articles, but not even with "regard to any one of them(1)." However, as it is possible that this suspicion may be ill grounded, as far as you, Sir, are concerned, and that you may resolve upon breaking another lance with me, under the pretence of attacking Ward, I hope, in this case, that you will give me credit for my past defence of the Establishment against her own most favoured sons, and that you will join with me in heartily reprobating the sentiments and conduct, not only of your Patriarchs, Crannier, Barlow, Grindal, &c. with all the foreign Protestants, but also the publicly avowed opinions of so large and respectable a proportion of your modern brethren. I have reason, indeed, to think, they will not thank you for bringing this discussion forward, as I am witness to the pains they took seven years ago to suppress it:

(1) Ibid. p. 243.

but that is a business in which, of course, I can have no vote. In the mean time I have the honour to remain,

Rev. Sir,

Your's, &c.

J. M.

Wolverhampton,
Dec. 12, 1808.



POSTSCRIPT.

THE delay which, from various circumstances, has taken place in the present publication, enables me to add to it a few remarks on three several pamphlets from the pens of established clergymen, which have been printed in Dublin within the last six weeks. One of these is entitled "An Address to the Clergy of the United Church in Ireland on the present Crisis, by an aged Minister of the Gospel." Whether from age, or from some other cause, the author is ever running into inconsistencies and contradictions, which render the confutation of him by another person quite unnecessary (1).—Speaking of the first edition of this work, he describes it, in one passage, as "The fashionable light reading of the drawing-room and circulating library (2) ;" and in another as "a disgusting composition, taken up with old wives' fables, monkish tales and legends (3), exploded even by enlightened Catholics ;—and with disquisitions on the demons or lesser gods whom the Platonists and other

(1) Of one of these blunders he seems to be a little conscious, where he speaks of "a contest, the peculiar feature of which is, that all is attack and no defence, the champions being all on one side," p. 9.

(2) P. 11.

(3) Public report affixes this publication on the hitherto boasted *Antiquary of Ireland*, Dr. L—d—ch; and the abuse we here witness of original documents, when they can no longer be employed to the discredit of the ancient apostle and faith of Ireland, confirms the prevailing opinion.

“ heathens worshipped (1).” He says that my “ Mis-
 “ sion to Ireland, whether voluntarily undertaken, or
 “ enjoined by the Court of Rome, is to be imputed to
 “ a dread of those doctrines (the worship of demons,
 “ &c.) being weakened by a spirit of independency,
 “ which, he says, is manifested among the higher and
 “ more respectable classes of R. Catholics (2);” yet he
 tells us, in almost the same breath, that “ The decep-
 “ tion and spiritual tyranny of the grand apostacy is
 “ daily acquiring strength in the western extremity
 “ (Ireland) of its prince and leader, and that casting
 “ off its slough it begins again to rear its crest, &c.(3)”
 He terms me “ a great champion of Popery, and a vi-
 “ sitor who astonishes bishops, priests, &c. with pro-
 “ digies of erudition, taste, and *virtu* (4).” Neverthe-
 less, he soon after quotes Dr. Geddes to prove that
 “ the Roman Catholics could have no cause to com-
 “ plain, and many of them would rejoice, if Dr.
 “ Sturges had repelled the accusations and reflections
 “ contained in the History of Winchester (5).” Ad-
 verting to himself as a writer, he characterizes his la-
 bours as “ humble,” apologises for “ venturing to ad-
 “ dress his clerical brethren: (6)” yet he scruples not in
 his title page, as well as in the body of his work, to de-
 scribe himself as “ being such a one as Paul the
 “ aged; (7)” that is to say, St. Paul the Apostle. He
 asserts that “ the ministers of the United Church of
 “ Ireland are equal to those of any other church or age
 “ in talents, erudition, and every qualification that can
 “ render them a blessing to their flocks, and a credit
 “ and ornament to the church in which they serve (8).”

(1) P. 29.

(2) Ibid.

(3) P. 28.

(4) P. 11.

(5) P. 29.

(6) P. 47. p. 4.

(7) P. 4. Epist. to Philem.

(8) P. 26.

Yet with all this, he reproaches them that “The
 “ watchmen are slumbering on their towers; that the
 “ shepherds do not raise their warning voice, while the
 “ beasts of the field come to devour (1); that not a
 “ single Elija appears to support the cause of truth
 “ against the prophets of Baal;” and a considerable
 portion of his book is taken up with accusations against
 them on the score of laxity, corruption, and a neglect
 of all preparatory discipline and studies (2): adding the
 following very “important remark,” as he calls it,
 though certainly it is not a very abstruse one: “How
 “ can we detect their (the Methodists) deceptions, or
 “ expose their deviations from the truth, if we our-
 “ selves have never come to the knowledge of the
 “ truth (3):”

In “training” his brethren to the warfare to which
 he endeavours to rouse them, he utterly disclaims the
 use of “any other weapons except those of the gosp l;”
 adding, “these were the only weapons by which the
 “ first apostles of the Reformation broke down the idol
 “ to which every knee bowed, and rescued such a por-
 “ tion of God’s people from the yoke of popery (4).”
 To be sure the last Henry, Elizabeth, and Ann, never
 caused a single persecuting law to be enacted! Nor did
 Cranmer, Ridley, Abbot, Calvin, Beza, Knox, Usher,
 Downman, &c. ever preach up or practise any religious
 persecution (5)! However, as by some means or other

(1) P. 3.

(2) P. 24.

(3) P. 36.

(4) Pp. 16, 17.

(5) See “Letters to a Prebendary on Persecution.” --- Bayle
 remarks that, when Archbishop Usher and the other Protestant
 Bishops of Ireland, solemnly remonstrated, in an instrument which
 they caused to be read in the churches, against the King’s proposal
 of granting a toleration to the Catholics of Ireland, they argued
 upon pure principles of persecution, namely, the alleged unlaw-

certain arguments not quite evangelical, but addressed to men's temporal hopes and fears, still appear upon the face of the statute book, no doubt our aged and tolerating minister will vote for their abrogation, as useless and improper weapons!——But no such thing: so far from it, he reproaches the parliamentary advocates of toleration with their conduct in all the bitterness of inflamed jealousy; declaring that “their success must infallibly lead to the “destruction of the Protestant establishment, and the “extinction of the Protestant Hierarchy and “Church (1).” So much for the exclusive use of gospel weapons!——Finally, our second St. Paul strictly enjoins his brethren not to employ “the weapons of “abuse and contempt against their enemies, but to “shew them meekness and good conversation (2).” Take now a specimen of these lessons from the apostle himself. Speaking of the Catholic Clergy of Ireland collectively, he calls them: “The most illiberal, the “most intolerant, the most persecuting of all zealots “that affect the name of Christians; who let loose upon “the public that malignant spirit which has been so “long confined to their chapels and confessionals;— “old adepts in forgery, &c. (3)” Such is “the meek- “ness and good conversation,” as well as the consistency of this ancient minister of the gospel, who declares himself to be such another as St. Paul.

fulness of tolerating what they called error and superstition. Archbishop Abbot and the Bishops of England objected upon the self-same grounds to a similar proposal of James I. with respect to the English Catholics. Knox and his brethren in Scotland argued in the same manner against sparing the lives of certain Catholic noblemen; so did Cranmer, when he forced Edward VI. to sign the death warrant of Joan Butcher, &c.; so also did Calvin, when he caused Servetus to be burnt.

(1) P. 7.

(2) P. 45.

(3) P. 13.

II. The second work which has issued from the Dublin press against me within these few days, is entitled :
 “ Reflections on the appointment of Dr. Milner as the
 “ Political Agent of the R. Catholic Clergy of Ireland,
 “ by the Rev. Thomas Elrington, D. D. late Senior
 “ Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin.” This is the
 writer with whom I have had the preceding contest,
 who was before known to me as the acrimonious adver-
 sary of Dr. Troy, under the final letters of his name
 S. N. His present object is to defeat or retard the
 dreaded, but inevitable emancipation, on the ground of
 my alledged crimes and misdemeanors in the present
 Letters, all of which he charges to the collective body
 of the Catholic Clergy of Ireland.

The learned Doctor opens his charges against me with
 flatly denying that the object of my voyage to Ireland
 was such as I have declared it to be, and with confi-
 dently maintaining that I went thither “ to assist at a
 “ consultation of the Catholic Bishops at May-
 “ nooth(1).” This, he says, I have confessed in one of
 my printed letters. But I have neither confessed the fact,
 nor is it true. He next reproaches me with speaking
 ill of all the Protestant Sovereigns of England between
 the Reformation and the Revolution, which is a false-
 hood ; as also of the different heads of the Reforma-
 tion(2), which is true ; and I should be glad to know what
 he has to urge in behalf of Luther, Calvin, Zuinglius,
 Cranmer, Latimer, Knox, &c. in opposition to what I
 have proved against them in my “ Letters to a Prebend-
 ary (3).” It is a fact, however, that these proofs were
 produced, not for the purpose of irritating Protestants,
 but for that of vindicating Catholics. But the subject

(1) P. 7.

(2) P. 8.

(3) Letter V. on the Reformation.

upon which my aggressor is peculiarly sore, and which, therefore, he most frequently and loudly reproaches me with touching, is that of the sanguinary persecutions heretofore carried on by Protestants, not only against Catholics, but also against their fellow Protestants who differed from them in certain articles of belief. This he represents as particularly calculated to provoke the resentment of Protestants, and to prevent their consenting to do away the remainder of the penal laws. But I cannot agree with him upon this point. On the contrary, I have found by experience, that nothing is so effectual for silencing the persecuting clamours of bigotted Protestants, and for inducing moderate Protestants to enter into terms of mutual forgiveness and peace, as a clear statement of historical facts on both sides, and the forcing them to balance the account of blood between Catholic and Protestant kings, prelates, and writers(1). Unable to deny the fact in question, namely, that above 200 Catholics were put to death in England for their religion during Elizabeth's reign, (to say nothing of about 70 more who were executed on the same account in the subsequent reigns, and of several hundreds who died in prison, or were sent into perpetual exile; and to say nothing of the numerous dissenters who were put to death, or otherwise persecuted for their respective opinions) our controversialist pretends that they suffered for treason, and defies me to mention one of them who was "tried as a heretic(2)." I agree with him, that they were not tried as *heretics*. No: there was too much common sense and decency in

(1) The writer falls into most egregious errors with respect to different circumstances of Mary's persecution, by following that treacherous guide Hume, in preference to more ancient and authentic historians.

(2) P. 15.

the legislature, to pretend that the little modern Church of England was the main stock of Christianity from which the great Church of all nations and all ages had broken off: accordingly, they did not venture to proclaim the Catholic religion heresy. However, as they were resolved upon extirpating it from these islands, they made the practice and profession of it a capital crime; and, as it was necessary to give that pretended crime a name, they called it High Treason. But in what did this high treason consist? Consult the statute book (1) and the history of the sufferers (2), you will find that it consisted in nothing else but in saying or hearing Mass, receiving Catholic Orders, being reconciled to the Catholic Religion, and denying that a wanton female was Head of the Church of Christ.— But I have elsewhere vindicated at full length the cause of our English Catholic sufferers during the long period of their persecution (3). With respect to the Irish sufferers in the same cause, especially the ecclesiastics, whose history Dr. Elrington equally misrepresents, and whose memory he grossly insults, I have elsewhere signified my intention of leaving their vindication in the hands of their successors, and particularly of two of them, who are eminently qualified for undertaking the task, and to a certain degree pledged to undertake it (4).—My opponent reproaches me not less severely

(1) 1 Elz. cap. i. cap. ii. 5 Elz. cap. i. 13 Elz. cap. ii. 23 Elz. cap. i. 27 Elz. cap. ii.

(2) See John Stow. Chron. Camden's Annales, Dodd, &c.

(3) See Letters to a Prebend. Letter VI. and VII.

(4) I may just observe, in passing, that Dr. Elrington, Dr. Ryan, and other late writers, *now* admit the existence of St Patrick; though they continue faintly to deny that his religion was the same with that of the present Catholic Church. The first mentioned is

for the terms in which I have spoken of King William, than for those in which I have mentioned Queen Elizabeth(1); and he enters into long dissertations, by way of justifying both his horrid perfidy in violating the solemn treaty of Limerick, and his remorseless cruelty in signing an order for the cold-blooded murder of his sworn subjects in the vale of Glenco. It only remains for the writer to prove, by a revision of this prince's letters and conduct, that he was a man of truth and a man of feeling, a faithful affectionate son-in-law, and a generous true-hearted British King.

In the present letters, as well as in various other works, I have pointed out the impolicy as well as the cruelty of refusing the brave and numerous Catholic defenders of their country the practice of their own religion, and forcing them to conform to another which they do not believe in (2). This Dr. E. considers as a mark of my disaffection, while I consider it as a proof of my loyalty. Numerous and fatal have been the effects of the mixed bigotry and irreligion I complain of, particularly in Spain and South America. The other day, when our troops marched into Spain, two or three English priests, who had been in the habit of attending their

inclined to believe the martyred Plunket to have been guilty; namely, of attempting to raise 70,000 men for the service of France! No doubt he believes in every tittle of the corresponding *Popish Plot*, as it is called, fabricated and sworn to by their reverences Dr. Oates and Dr. Tongue! This gentleman reproaches me with not naming F. Peter Walsh amongst the eminent Catholic writers. If he consults my "*Ecclesiastical Democracy Detected*," he will there see proofs that this boasted loyalist was the willing tool of a persecuting government, and a traitor to his religion. As such, when he was found out by the Catholics, he was taken into the pay and service of the Protestant Bishop of Winchester.

sick and dying countrymen of the Catholic religion while in Portugal, requested permission of General Moore to continue their pious work in the neighbouring kingdom. The petition was referred to the staff, who decidedly rejected it. We may easily conceive the effect which such a decision must have had on the Portuguese and Spaniards, as well as upon the Catholic soldiers. The Doctor carries his malignity so far as to reproach me with disaffection, for exhorting the Irish Catholics to bear their grievances with patience, and to be loyal, even in opposition to the apparent interests of their religion(1). Do they then feel nothing unless I remind them of their wrongs? and is it impossible that better terms should be held out to them than those which are now offered by government? Still more effectual to traduce my allegiance, he goes twenty years backwards, when the bill for the relief of the English Catholics was on the carpet; on which occasion he reproaches me, after a false and most malicious detail of facts, with “dis-
 “ approving of one of the greatest attempts ever made
 “ to give unequivocal assurance of the loyalty of
 “ Catholics(2).” But if I am guilty of any crime in this transaction the legislature partakes in it! The case is briefly this: In the year 1789, a Declaration, said to have been drawn up by a Protestant Peer, which states many horrid tenets imputed to Catholics, and strongly disavows them, was circulated amongst our people for general signature. We all rejected the tenets; but many of us complained that the disavowal of them, in the instrument, was expressed in loose and doubtful terms. In return, we were assured that our Protestant fellow subjects, to whom that Declaration was to be presented, had not a conception of our nice distinctions and scruples, and that the instrument was, on no

(1) Pp. 11, 13.

(2) Pp. 43, 53.

account whatever, to be turned into an oath. In this, however, we were egregiously deceived. A new oath of allegiance, formed indeed upon the plan of the Declaration, but aggravating all its faults and difficulties, and prefaced with a schismatical appellation, to which every Catholic was to have signed his name (1), previously to his having taken the oath, was inserted in Lord Redesdale's bill, and presented to Parliament, without any approbation of the body, either lay or ecclesiastical. In these circumstances, the Apostolic Vicars met, and condemned the new oath and appellation, declaring, at the same time, not what Dr. E. falsely ascribes to them, but that "no Catholic ought to take a new oath, or sign an instrument upon doctrinal matters without their approbation." In short, they appointed me their Agent, and I had the good fortune, through the blessing of God, and the liberality of such men as Messrs. Burke, Windham, Fox, Sir Archibald Macdonald, Lord Grenville, Lord Moira, and Bishop Horsey, to convince both Houses of Parliament of our loyalty and the justice of our cause, and to procure the adoption of our present oath instead of the one fabricated by Lord Redesdale, and his Catholic agent (2). I repeat it then: if there was any defect in my loyalty upon this occasion, the Houses of Parliament, after a long and accurate investigation of the matter, were partakers of my guilt! Having just published an explana-

(1) In the original Bill of 1791, it was provided that every Catholic, previously to his taking the oath of allegiance, should subscribe himself in the records of the Court as follows: "I hereby declare myself a Protesting Catholic Dissenter."

(2) This circumstance, the reality of which C. B. Esq. will not publicly deny, ought to serve as a warning to the Irish Catholics not to trust their concerns in his hands; however impatient he shews himself to have the management of them.

tion (1) of a late transaction which my adversaries next object to me, I will say nothing more of it here than that there is not in my conception, any contradiction between my "giving an opinion that the bishops " would probably agree to consult government with " respect to the loyalty of future candidates for episcopacy to a limited number, perhaps two, three, or " four times," and my declaring that "I would rather " shed my blood than consent to an A— Catholic King's " enjoying any real power or influence, direct or indirect, " over any portion of the Catholic Church:" because, in my view of this matter, the aforesaid negative power, under all the proposed restrictions, would not have amounted to any real power or influence, direct or indirect. However, as the measure, under every kind of modification, was found to be so highly offensive to the great body of the Irish Catholics, and as their bishops have unanimously voted it to be inexpedient, I have thought it my duty to join my voice with theirs, in also declaring it to be inexpedient.

In a word, little else can be concluded from Dr. Elrington's publication, except that he is very much displeased with my book; a circumstance which, I own, does not give me a worse opinion of it, and which is not likely to be removed by the letter addressed to him in the present edition of it.

III. The third publication which has appeared against my Letters in the present year, is called, " *Strictures on Dr. Milner's Tour and Mr. Clinch's Inquiry; with a new Plan for obtaining Emancipation: a Conciliatory Tract, by the Rev. Edward Ryan, D. D. Author, &c.*" — This is that generous controvertist, who, as I have shewn above in my letter to him, is in the habit of yielding to his antagonist

(1) Dr. Milner's Appeal to the Catholics of Ireland.

even greater advantages than the latter has occasion to take. The present Conciliatory Tract, no less than “ the Answer to Ward’s Errata,” affords abundant instances of this generosity. I shall not, however, stop to avail myself of them, but shall satisfy myself with giving a slight sketch of the work itself, and that, for the most part, in the words of the author. He appears, indeed, extremely desirous that I should answer twenty-one queries which he proposes to me in one part of his book, and twenty-nine others which he puts down in a subsequent part of it. But I cannot think of taking up my time and that of my readers with discussing such subjects, unless he can shew that any of them relate to my letters, or to some other matter in debate. He is still more earnest with me to answer a work which, it seems, he published some years ago, under the title of “ An Address to the R. Catholic Nobility and Gentry of Ireland.” He testifies of it that “ the arguments “ were directed with force,” though, he owns, “ they “ did not produce the desired effect (1).” We will then put the matter upon this issue: when his arguments seem likely to produce their desired effect, by making a single convert to his religion, I will then attempt to make such answers to them as it may be in my power to make. At present I shall confine myself to a few extracts from the strictures before us. He enters upon his work with stating that “ Dr. Milner finding his “ master’s (the Pope’s) authority likely to suffer some “ diminution in Ireland by the King’s Veto, employed “ all his talents to defeat the good purpose of certain “ Romish bishops and of the legislature.—After visit- “ ing several parts of Ireland, he returned to England, “ and published his tour : a very curious performance “ indeed ! In this tour he describes rivers, harbours,

“ round towers,——and intersperses these narratives
 “ with aspersions on Protestants, and feeble arguments
 “ in support of the Pope’s Supremacy :——as if he had
 “ said this with himself: The supremacy is in danger; if
 “ I publish a grave defence of it I shall be answered. I
 “ will write an entertaining tour, and introduce here
 “ and there what I have to say on the subject. I will re-
 “ vile the English government without apparent malice,
 “ flatter the pride and prejudices of the popish laity,
 “ and gratify the clergy so far by panegyrics, that they
 “ will be easily prevailed upon to adhere to that supre-
 “ macy, and even to think it an essential part of their
 “ religion (1).” Having fabricated this speech for me,
 the learned Doctor proceeds to condemn me for hav-
 ing spoken it, exclaiming: “ Who could suppose
 “ that a Christian Bishop would act thus? An Apos-
 “ tolical Vicar might be expected to visit Ireland to
 “ conciliate rather than irritate,” &c. (2) He after-
 wards proceeds to state his “ new conciliatory plan,”
 which is this. He offers to leave Catholics in posses-
 sion of the several tenets which he enumerates and de-
 scribes as being “ useless, contrary to reason, unedify-
 “ ing, delusive, blasphemous, superstitious, and idol-
 “ atrous (3), provided they will give up to him their
 doctrines concerning heresy (that is to say, provided
 they will acknowledge him, Dr. Ryan, to be an ortho-
 dox good Catholic) and the Pope’s Supremacy (4). On
 this condition he promises them emancipation in this
 world, and a share of felicity with him in the world to
 come.——With the same facility that he fabricates
 a speech for me concerning the object of my tour, he
 fabricates one for the Irish bishops of the eighth cen-

(1) P. 6.

(2) Ibid.

(3) P. 19,

(4) Ibid.

tury against the Supremacy of the See of Rome, and then proceeds to argue from it in the following strain :
 “ Such might and probably would have been the answer of the Irish bishops of the 8th or 9th century to a claim of foreign jurisdiction over them. But, alas ! the conduct of the present bishops is the reverse ! They wish for a foreign jurisdiction ! Insist on the continuance of the Papal Supremacy ! Literally refuse emancipation from the shackles of the Pope ! Surrender their concerns to his Vicar ! and appoint him their agent ! I blush at finding my countrymen duped by a man like Dr. Milner, who is inferior to many of them in piety and talents ; inferior to them perhaps in every thing except art and intrigue. As a Milesian, I feel indignant at the degeneracy of these bishops ! As an Irishman, I feel national degradation on beholding 22 bishops out of the 28 so infatuated and abject as to hug their chains ! so destitute of patriotism, as to submit without a struggle to the like dymoc of a foreigner ! The idea of the keys is too absurd for criticism (1) !—Were it not for Dr. Milner’s influence on the Roman bishops, it can hardly be supposed that so many of them would have voted for the Pope’s Supremacy.—The English colonists, whom the Pontiffs encouraged, dispossessed sects, clans, &c. The Ryans lost large properties, without any attempt on the part of the Popes to check the hungry invaders (2).”

I must not, however, forget that our Doctor, with all his professed liberality and benevolence to the Catholics, finds their exclusion from places of honour and profit, and the extreme depression and misery of the greater part of them very rational and proper : for, says he, “ exclusion from power does not arise from into-

(1) P. 59.

(2) P. 77.

"lerance or contempt. I do not persecute nor despise
 "my neighbour, because I do not give him share of my
 "property or power. A brother does not despise his
 "brother, by not dividing his estate with him. A
 "father may love two sons, but shew marks of favour
 "to one which he withholds from the other (1)." Allud-
 ing to the condition of Irish Catholics in their own
 country, as described by me, one of the queries which
 he solemnly calls upon me to solve is the following:
 "Are there not hewers of wood and drawers of water in
 "every nation of the globe (2)?" Instead of answering
 this question, I will make an unessential change in it,
 and then leave the learned Doctor to solve it himself.
 Suppose that, instead of believers in transubstantiation,
 the law appointed the Ryans to be hewers of wood and
 drawers of water to the rest of their countrymen, would
 the Doctor be satisfied with his own argument; name-
 ly, that there must be people of this description in
 every nation on the globe?—Nor must I pass over the
 following essential part of the author's conciliatory
 plan. "Let government be authorized by law to ask the
 "three candidates for a (Catholic) bishopric the fol-
 "lowing questions: In what instances have you shewn
 "your attachment to the King for the last five or seven
 "years? Have there been any nightly meetings of
 "Threshers, White Boys, robbers of arms, &c. in
 "your parish? The priest who suffered such things
 "shall have our decided negative (3)." The former
 condition reminds me of Robespierre's reign of terror,
 when every man who could not prove that he had com-
 mitted some atrocity was punished as a suspected per-
 son. The latter condition goes beyond the tyranny of
 Robespierre himself, in making the poor priest answer-
 able for the conduct of thousands of persons no less

(1) P. 8.

(2) P. 25.

(3) P. 15.

than for his own. But why restrain the law to Catholic clergymen? Why should it not be so framed, as to prevent Dr. Ryan from obtaining promotion, while any breaches of the peace occur among the Protestant inhabitants of the parish in Dublin, where he officiates?

The Doctor passes from his reveries to his dreams, one of which he relates to us as a serious matter of fact as follows: "Having finished my above-mentioned queries, I went to bed, fell asleep, and had the following dream.—I fancied that this pamphlet was published, and that soon after I was present in a R. Catholic assembly, where Lord Kenmare rose to speak, and proposed a memorial to be presented to the Pope, shewing——that the King and Parliament refuse to do more, unless your Holiness renounces the doctrines of heresy and supremacy;——that if you call a synod, and do not suffer Dr. M. to interfere, we do not doubt but their decision will confirm our opinion;——that a renunciation of those two articles would probably secure emancipation, &c."——The dream goes on to state, that after the memorial had been read, Mr. O'Gorman or Mr. O'Connel (the Doctor forgets which) delivered a speech "approving of the greater part of the memorial, &c.—shewing that Dr. O'R. should have the supremacy, &c."——and concluding as follows: "Any of our bishops must love Ireland more than the Pope or Dr. Milner. Even Dr. Ryan, though a bitter enemy to our doctrines and worship, seems to love the country more than either of them. He is a *merus Hibernicus*; all his ancestors on his father's and mother's side have been Milesians, and most of them Catholics. I do not blame him for his enmity to the Popes, by whose means the Ryans lost a large property, &c. (1)"

I think it must be allowed on all hands, that if Dr. Ryan is not a first-rate orator, logician, or theologian, he is at least an unparalleled dreamer.—In return for his new plan for emancipating Catholics, I strongly recommend, that when they get into Parliament they should unanimously vote for the restitution of Dr. Ryan's estate to him, on the single condition of his proving that he has lost an estate, whether by means of the Popes six hundred years ago, or by any other means whatsoever.



ADDITIONAL NOTES.

(Page 50, Note 2.) I have dwelt much, in various notes of this Work, upon the injuries which the Irish have, at different times, suffered from the English, in order to induce the latter to make such satisfaction to the former as it is in their power to make. But as certain Irish writers of the present day are found to abuse the ignorance of their countrymen, in making them believe that their ancestors never did any mischief to the inhabitants of Britain, and that their island has derived all sort of mischief and no degree of benefit from ours, I think it right, from the same conciliatory motives, to make the following observations.——1°. If Ireland has frequently been invaded and laid waste by the inhabitants of Britain, these, perhaps, have as often suffered the same calamity from the Irish. The piracies of the Irish, during a long period, were as destructive to our island as those of the Danes were at a subsequent period (1), and the Hibernian chieftain Neil Nao-Gaillac in particular spread desolation throughout it from its western to its eastern shore. It was in one of these piratical expeditions that St. Patrick was captivated and carried as a slave to Ireland, with many thousands of his countrymen, as he testifies of himself (2). These invasions during the British period were frequently repeated after the Saxons became masters of England; and it is a fact, that a great proportion of those invad-

(1) “*Recesserunt ergo impudentes grassatores Hybernii domum, post non longum tempus, reversuri.*” Bed. Eccl. Hist. l. 2. c. 14.

(2) Confess. St. Pat. c. i.

ing hosts who were destroyed by our renowned King Athelstan on the plains of Brunanburgh, in the year 833, consisted of Irish chieftains and soldiers.——
 29. It is a fraudulent deception, to represent the invasion of Ireland by Henry II. as the consequence of the English Pope's Bull, viz. that of Adrian IV. as that Bull, admitting it to be genuine, remained without effect. It is a still greater imposition to describe the inhabitants of Ireland as *forming a nation* at that period, and as being at peace, and happy amongst themselves, in the conscious possession of civil and religious rights. They consisted of a motley group of Irish, Scots (1), and Ostmen, or Scandinavians, being subject to numerous petty despots, who led them out, as their passions or their caprice dictated, to mutual slaughter; and the state of religion and morality amongst them, in spite of the zealous efforts of the different Pontifical Legates, Lanfranc, St. Anselm, Gislebert, St. Malachy, and Cardinal Papario, was in the most frightful disorder. Every one knows that the English entered Ireland at the invitation of one of its kings, and that they were rewarded with a settlement in it, for the services which they rendered him, and that most of the other native princes hastened to do homage to the English King, in a manner which shews they had no idea of a common cause or a common country. On the other hand, the state of ecclesiastical discipline and morals was such as fully justifies the description which Adrian IV. gives of it, in so much that the great light of the age, St. Bernard, describes the Irish Christians as being almost re-

(1) St. Bernard even in his time distinguishes between the Irish and the Scotch in Ireland. Vitæ St. Malach. c. iii. An ancient author cited by Tillemont says: "Scoti Hibernis superiores fuere et magis bellicosi." in Vita St. Patr.

duced to a state of paganism (2). In proof of this, it will be sufficient to mention the following incontestable facts : that seventeen persons of the same family, eight of whom were married men and destitute of orders, were Archbishops of Armagh before and during the time of St. Malachy, and almost down to the reign of Henry II, and that it was not till the English invasion that the Irish Prelates found themselves enabled to establish regular and canonical limits to their dioceses and succession among themselves ; as also to abrogate the prevailing polygamy, incestuous marriages, the practice of baptizing the children of the rich with milk, &c. &c. — 3°. If Ireland has received injuries, she has also derived benefits from this island. St. Patrick, the instrument of God in its Christianity and civilization, was a native of Britain, so was King Alfred, the author of its laws and constitution. Most of the writers who enlighten it at the present day, in religious as well as in profane literature, are Englishmen.

(Page 57, to Note 1.) On the subject of duelling add the following anecdote, which was communicated to me by a valuable friend. — A young officer of rank and family fancied himself insulted by the great Turenne, and demanded satisfaction of him in the usual forms. The hero took no notice of the challenge, though frequently repeated. At length the officer contrived to meet him in a public place, and actually spit in his face. Surprised at the outrage, Turenne half drew his sword, but recollecting himself, he returned it into its scabbard, when making use of his handkerchief he said to the officer : “ Young man, if I could as soon

(2) “ Barbaries, imo Paganismus sub nomine Christiano.” Vita St. Malach. c. vii.

“ wipe away the guilt of your blood from my conscience, as I can wipe off your phlegm from my face, your life would be the forfeiture of your insolence.” Having thus expressed himself, Turenne retired in all the majesty of triumphant virtue, and the young officer was so struck with his heroism, that he asked his pardon on the spot, which Turenne not only gave him, but also became his friend and patron. Such behaviour in a general so renowned for bravery, who had faced death in 50 battles, and who, at last, met with it in the defence of his country, is a striking proof that the refusal of a challenge upon Christian motives is consistent with true courage.

(P. 59, l. 13.) In August last an officer, Major Campbell, was condemned and executed at Armagh for killing another officer, Captain Boyd, in a duel. But, as it is generally understood that this singular instance of legal justice for the offence in question, took place in consequence of the circumstances of the duel, rather than of the duel itself, there is reason to fear it will not have any great effect in putting a stop to the inhuman practice. The former has left a widow and five children, the latter a widow and seven children. Thus, says an intelligent journalist, sixteen victims have at once been immolated on the bloody altar of false honour!

(P. 67.) The ordinary salutations of the Irish to each other consist of mutual prayers.—“ An aon Dia yuit : ” *May the only God bless you* ; says one poor man to his neighbour : to which the other answers : “ Is aon Dia, agus Muire, agus Padrig : ” *May the only God bless you ; and Mary and Patrick pray for you.*

(P. 79.) A late writer confirms Mr. Plowden’s account of the outrages committed upon the women by

the yeomen and King's troops in certain parts of Ireland whilst they were upon free quarters there. "It was the "profligate boast," he says, "of a party who had been "hunting out United Irishmen, that they had violated "every girl in the town they had ransacked. And it is "from humanity only I do not reveal the names of "those men, and one of them an Irish peer." Miles's Letter to the Prince of Wales, p. 225. Certain anecdotes which have come to my knowledge respecting this particular species of barbarity are too shocking to be related.

(P. 81.) I cannot forbear particularizing one act of illegal violence, which took place in the Diocese of Kildare, about a year after the suppression of the rebellion, because it is well authenticated; because the injured parties are known; and because it displays the spirit and conduct of a certain faction in striking colours.—The celebrated Father Franks, a parish priest of that diocese, kept himself for a long time upon such good terms with the neighbouring Orangemen, that he acquired the name of the *Orange Priest*. At length, by some means or other, he became obnoxious to them, and a party of them resolved to take summary vengeance of him. The priest's servant, seeing them approach to the house, and suspecting their design, met them at the door with a large quantity of whiskey, and kept plying them with glass after glass till he found means to effect his escape. Missing the object of their vengeance, these ruffians attacked a poor tailor who happened to be at work for the priest, and left him bleeding on the floor. Then, breaking into another room, they discovered the Rev. Mr. Barry, coadjutor to F. Franks, whom they instantly charged with having been concerned in the rebellion. It was an easy matter for him to refute this accusation, as he was in Portugal at

the time when it took place, and as he had been but four months in Ireland. Upon this the leader of the band advancing, placed his hand on the young clergyman's head, pronouncing at the same time this sentence : " As a rebel I acquit you: as a priest I condemn you.— " Fall to, boys."——Instantly every sword is raised against Mr. Barry. But as he was young and active, and they enfeebled by liquor, and especially as the room was too low and narrow to allow play for their swords, after receiving several severe gashes, he contrived to rush down the stairs and out of the house, by which means he saved his life.

(P. 226.) Among other pious frauds of the Bible Societies in Ireland, in order to trick the Catholic inhabitants out of their religion, is that of endeavouring to persuade them that their own Popes and most eminent divines advise them to lay aside their Catechisms, turn a deaf ear to their pastors, and hammer their own religion out of the several books of the Bible. For this purpose they have published and circulated among the Catholic poor a *garbled* and *corrupt* translation of a letter from Pope Pius VI. to Martini of Florence, in commendation of his translation of the Scriptures into Italian. But they have taken care to suppress the passages in which his Holiness enforces the rules of the Index, and praises the work for having notes to explain difficult passages conformably to the doctrine of the Holy Fathers : in fact, it consists of 23 quarto vols. The tract in question, which, together with the corrupt copy of the Pope's letter, contains also some letters from German Jansenists, who are described as being good Catholics, was circulated at Cork two months ago, when I was in that city. Printed by A. Paris, Took's-court, London, for the Religious Tract Society, Price 2s. 8d. per 100.

(P. 284.) In the opinion of enlightened and experienced Prelates and Pastors with whom I have conversed, nothing has operated more fatally towards damping, if not extinguishing that spirit of religion and piety for which Irish Catholics were heretofore so remarkable, as the initiation of a great number of them into the mysteries of Freemasonry. Such being its effect, it is with good reason, then, that the institution itself has been condemned by Benedict XIV. and other Pontiffs, and that the members of it are required, in Ireland, to renounce it, as the condition of their being admitted to the sacraments. I am aware that the freemasonry of most (though not of all) of our British lodges is innocent, compared with that of the lodges on the continent; and that, on this account, the very masters of the former are derided by the foreign adepts of the Scotch, the Rosicrucian, and the Kadosh knights, and particularly by the Illuminati, as “mere children, delighted with trappings, and ignorant of the real secrets of their fraternity (1).” Still I maintain, that even this mummary, (a mummary more contemptible than the buffoonery of a masquerade, and more fabulous than the Arabian Nights Entertainments,) is inimical to religion and morality. For what can be more impious than the very terms of those horrid execratory oaths which (with drawn swords presented to the breast) the three degrees of British Masons respectively take? What more offensive to God, than to swear to keep secret that which it may be necessary, for the cause of religion or of society, in short, for our own or our fellow creatures’ sake, to make known to those who may prevent an impending evil? What

(1) Philo, alias Baron Knigge, in his Letter to Spartacus, alias Weishaupt, as quoted by Baruell. *Memoirs of Jacobinism.*

more profane, than to invoke the Almighty at all on so frivolous a thing as Freemasonry is? I say nothing of the other formularies and ceremonies of the craft, which evidently point to heterodoxy, and even to Deism.—To speak now of the boasted morality, that is to say, of the alledged philanthropy of masonry. Christianity teaches us that there is an *order* as well as a *duty* of Universal Charity. We are bound, indeed, to love all mankind, and to assist them to the best of our power; but the bonds of charity are incontestably stronger and closer, which unite us with some persons, than those which unite us with others; and unable as we are to relieve our fellow creatures, we must first afford relief to our parents, if they stand in need of it; then to wife, husband, and children; next to our fellow Christians and countrymen; with a view, at the same time, to their respective deserts. Again, by the laws of nature and of God, there are and must be gradations in society. The father must be the head of his family; the prince, pastor, or magistrate, is necessarily superior to those over whom he is placed for their common happiness. Now all these primary laws of God and of man, Freemasonry tends to confound and subvert. Thus, for example, if, being a member of the fraternity, some perfidious Algerine, or blood-stained Jacobin or Orangeman, were to perform his apish tricks to my eyes, and whisper his Shibboleth in my ears, I should be obliged to give him the money in my pocket, which I had destined for the deserving widow and helpless orphans, my next door neighbours.—I say nothing of the loss of time, money, and health, which the requisite attendance at these secret mysteries, with their consequent computations, draws after it, and I shall conclude with observing, that more than one respectable acquaintance of mine, when youthful curiosity heretofore seduced into the engagements of Freemasonry, has convinced me by his countenance and his language that he heartily repented of them.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

- Page 45 line 17, for *remarkable*, r. *remarkably*,
 83 — 1, for *it*, read *them*.
 94 note l. 1. for *these*, r. *there*.
 133 line 12, for *Britains*, r. *Britons*.
 254 — 5, for *unreasonableness*, r. *unseasonableness*.
 256 — 5, after *finish*, add *it*.
 262 — 5, for *the*, r. *its*.
 274 note for 1807 r. 1787.
 271 line 19, for *uninterested* r. *uninstructed*.
Ibid. note for *Hospital*, r. *School in Dublin*.
 304 line 4, for *sprouts*, r. *sprout*.
 317 — 2, for *or*, r. *nor*.
 325 — 5, before *mentioned*, add *I*.
 328 — 13, for *humble*, r. *original*.
 330 — 18, before *now*, r. *not*.
 337 — 17, for *judicandam*, r. *judicandum*.
 338 — 13, for *J. W.* r. *T. W.*
 346 — 8, for *pages*, r. *lines*.
 348 — 5, for *nefarious*, r. *multifarious*.
 364 — 8, for *flexible*, r. *inflexible*.
 373 — 10, for *written*, r. *unwritten*.
 378 — 15, for 1663, r. 1683.
 413 — 24, Dele *yet*.
 414 N. 1, l. 3, for *vigour* r. *rigour*.
 427 line 15, for *effectual*, r. *effectually*.

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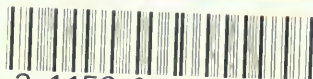
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